A

TOUR TO LONDON:

OR,

NEW OBSERVATIONS

ON

ENGLAND,

AND ITS INHABITANTS.

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OBSERVATIONS ON ENGLAND.

FANATICISM AND SUPERSTITION.

BY one of thoſe contrarieties, which would be thought impoſſible, if daily experience did not demonſtrate their exiſtence, fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition are near akin to each other: they reſemble a quarter-ſtaff, which the authors of all great revolutions have, in every age, known how to make a proper uſe of. When once the imagination of the people is worked upon, it runs equally into both theſe exceſſes, and the progreſs they make in them, is proportioned to their temper and conſtitution.

, Chez les Anglois ſombres & duas eſprits
' Toute folie eſt noitre, atrabilaire:
' Chez les Francois ell eſt vive & leger *.

" Among the gloomy, ſtubborn Engliſh, fol-
" lies wear a melancholy, black, and diſmal
" hue: in Frenchmen they are light and airy."

* Voltaire.

tles: 'Indignis Decanus, indignior Epiſcopus, 'Indigniſſimus Archiepiſcopus *.'

The melancholy temper of the Engliſh has rendered them, in all ages, exceeding fond of every thing which appears to be out of the common order. Hence that veneration, ſo long and univerſally eſtabliſhed for the ſorcerer Merlin, &c. &c. The writings of all the antient poets of Great Britain, of all the hiſtorians, of William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris himſelf, are a continued regiſter of miracles, apparitions, and ghoſts.

In thoſe barbarous ages, the monks, who alone kept the records of the revolutions and the ſeveral events of Europe, were devoted, as well by intereſt as taſte, to that phrenzy of which enlighted ages have purged hiſtory: but that taſte in a particular manner infected the Engliſh. This evidently appears from the charge of witchcraft, brought by the whole body of the clergy, againſt Robert Groſthead, biſhop of Lincoln. That biſhop was greatly ſuperior to his contemporaries in knowledge and abilities †: this was his real crime. In thoſe days of ignorance, France had likewiſe ſome prelates, who might have done honour to more enlightened ages. Envy and jealouſy played their uſual

* Archbiſhop Harſnet is the perſon here meant. He had a controverſy with John Darrell, who pretended to caſt out devils. This archbiſhop lies buried at Chigwell in Eſſex. The inſcription runs thus: 'Indignus epiſcopus Ciceſtrenſis, dein indig-'nior Norwicenſ. emum indigniſſimus archiepiſcopus 'Eboracenſis.'

† See his panegyric in Matthew Paris, under the year 1253.

game;

game; but they did not turn againſt any of thoſe prelates the arms, with which witchcraft and malice ſupplied them: the Gallican clergy employed them only againſt the people. The uſe made of them by the Engliſh clergy, againſt one of their principal members, demonſtrates either that the ſpirit of party was more violent in that kingdom than in France, or that the Engliſh believed more generally and more firmly in witchcraft than the French.

The freedom of thinking and reaſoning, afterwards introduced in England, has not cured even perſons of the beſt underſtanding of ſo abſurd a credulity. It diſcovers itſelf at every turn, in the memoirs of one of the moſt rational, wiſe, and ſenſible Engliſh writers: I mean, Sir Andrew Melvil, who wrote his memoirs in the reign of James the Firſt, whoſe revenues he had long ſuperintended; he has filled thoſe papers with ſtories of witches and ſorcerers, which he offers as authentic facts to a nation, no doubt, diſpoſed to believe them.

I have already ſpoken of the great practical fear which the Engliſh have of ghoſts, while they make a jeſt of them in the theory. To the example of my landlord's ſon, which I have already mentioned, I ſhall join two more of a much higher rank: the celebrated Hobbes furniſhes me with one. He denied that there was in the univerſe any ſpirit, or ſubſtance diſtinct from matter: yet to ſuch a degree was he afraid of ſpirits, that he could not bear to be by himſelf in a room with the door ſhut. Iſaac Voſſius, who became an Engliſhman by a reſidence of twenty years in that kingdom, joined to the ſuperciliouſneſs and preſumption of a freethinker, the credulity of an old woman.

Full of doubts concerning the revelation, he believed implicitly all the ſtories told by travellers, with regard to China and other foreign countries: "This learned doctor, ſaid Charles II. ſpeaking of Voſſius, is a very ſurprizing man; he believes every thing but the Bible."

Thus the change in the way of thinking of the Engliſh, with regard to an infinite number of objects, ſeems to have paid a reſpect to the moſt ridiculous prejudices, as being deeply rooted in the national character of that people. The blind enthuſiaſm of the three kingdoms for miracles, for the prophecies of the ſorcerer Merlin, and for all the pious and political revelations occaſioned by impoſture and intereſt, have been ſurvived by a ſervile attachment to a thouſand little ſuperſtitions, which Steele and Addiſon have to no purpoſe combated in the ſeventh paper of the Spectator.

In the very centre of London itſelf, ſuperſtition has a monument, which it never loſes ſight of, and which intereſts people of all ranks and orders in the ſtate. I mean, three poles, upon the tops of which were fixed the heads of three of the ringleaders, who, in 1746, ſided with the pretender. Theſe three poles, which are fifteen or twenty feet high, are placed at equal diſtances from each other upon Temple-bar: a gate built in the taſte of that of the old 'Porte de la Conference' at Paris, and which ſeparates the city from the ſtrand. Several of the Engliſh appeared to me to have a perſuaſion, that the fall of each of the three heads will be the forerunner of ſome revolution in the ſtate. This prejudice has gained ground by the fall of the head in the middle, which, at the time of the

the late king's death, was looſened, and dropped from the pole.

MADMEN AND LUNATICS.

THESE melancholy diſpoſitions, the good and ill conſequences of which upon Engliſh imaginations I have before related, produce a fatal effect upon thoſe in whoſe conſtitutions an exalted degree of melancholy is blended: this is the ſort of melancholy, which the Mahometans think has ſomething divine and ſupernatural, and which they reſpect in thoſe in whom it prevails: the great bent of the Engliſh to ſuicide is a branch of this diſorder.

Perſons troubled with this diſeaſe have ſeveral aſylums in London; the moſt conſiderable of which is Bedlam, one of the largeſt and fineſt buildings with which that capital is adorned. Before it ſtands an extenſive ſquare, which goes by the name of Moorfields. The uſe this edifice is intended for appears from two figures of the largeſt ſize, before the principal gate: one of theſe repreſents a perſon pining away with melancholy, and the other a man in a tranſport of the higheſt phrenzy. Theſe two figures, which may be juſtly compared to the nobleſt productions of Michael Angelo and his ſchool, are the works of Cibber, an Engliſh ſculptor, father to Cibber the player, who ſo long filled the place of poet laureat.

The city of London endowed this houſe, the funds of which have been encreaſed, and do ſtill increaſe every day, by the generous donations of perſons, who, 'mali non ignari, miſeris 'ſuccurrere diſcunt.' Theſe funds procure the patients the care, the tenderneſs, and all the at-

tendance, which their helpleſs condition requires. In a word, madmen and lunatics have in England the ſame right to the charity of their countrymen, as the blind have to that of the inhabitants of Florence, a city whoſe air is dangerous to the ſight.

In one of the viſits which I paid Bedlam hoſpital, I happened to enter a hall filled with women of different ages, who were dreſſed very neat and clean, and drinking tea together. The preſident of the aſſembly, who was the daughter of a French refugee, ſpoke French: ſhe immediately took me by the hand, and preſented me to the ſociety, forced me to drink a diſh of tea, and, with great humour, gave me the hiſtory of the madneſs of her companions: it was occaſioned either by love or religious enthuſiaſm. I took the liberty to enquire into the cauſe of her own madneſs: ſhe thereupon told me a long ſtory, by which I could diſcover nothing but a great affection for France, and a lively regret that it was not in her power to live and die there. Before I entered this hall, I enquired whether I could be there in ſafety; and was aſſured, that I could. This was the gayeſt and moſt noiſy of all the coteries I had ſeen in London.

From the bottom of the gallery joining to the room where theſe women were ſeated, there iſſued piercing and continued cries. Theſe were uttered by a handſome young woman, whoſe head was turned by one of the leaders of the new religious ſect, called Methodiſts. This unhappy creature put me in mind of a mad woman, whom, in the only viſit that I ever made to the Petites Maiſons at Paris, I ſaw brought thither, faſt bound. She had loſt her ſenſes by

by an accident which ſhe met with in child-bed, when ſeventeen years old. After all ſorts of remedies had been applied without effect, her father, her mother, and her huſband, in tears, and uttering louder cries than ſhe herſelf, conſigned her to the cell, in which ſhe was then ſhut up. I never in my days beheld a more wretched and deplorable ſight.

One entire ward of Bedlam contains a row of large cells, in each of which was a poor unfortunate wretch, chained down in bed. Whilſt I was going round, one of the madmen, having diſengaged himſelf from his chains, leaped ſtark naked upon the back of the perſon that accompanied me, who was keeper of the ward. The keeper ſeized him by the arms, and carried him back to his cell, without giving him time to change his attitude.

One of theſe madmen, who were thus chained down, called out to me in French. When I went up to him, he aſked me news of Paris and Lewis XV. talked to me of the reſpect, which the Engliſh owe to their king; of that which the king owes to the law, which forbids him to condemn any one without firſt having granted him a legal hearing; and entered into a long converſation of the ſame nature with me, which did not in the leaſt ſurprize me, conſidering the condition he was in. If I had ſooner known what I afterwards learned, I ſhould have liſtened to him with greater attention. I ſhall here give the reader his hiſtory, as I heard it from the maſter of the ward; and I have forgot no circumſtance of it, but the date.

The king of England reſides in the queen's palace, at the farther end of the mall in St. James's park. His majeſty received a letter,

which threatened him with death, if he did not depoſit a ſum of money in a particular place: looking upon this letter as the jeſt of ſome madman, he gave himſelf but little concern about it. The term preſcribed by the letter being expired, a man dreſſed in a great coat came to the palace-door in a chair, at one o'clock at night. The chairman, by this perſon's orders, knocked at the porter's door, who lives in one of the offices adjoining to the palace. The porter roſe thereupon, and opened the door, though half aſleep. The man in the chair deſired to ſpeak to the king; and the porter telling him it was impoſſible, he leaped out of the chair, flew furiouſly at the man, threw him down, and hurried away towards the king's apartment. The porter recovered himſelf, came up to him, ſeized him by the collar, and, by his cries, alarmed the palace. The man was immediately ſeized, together with the chairmen, who waited at the gate. The latter, being examined with regard to what had paſſed, appeared to be innocent, and were diſmiſſed. The perſon whom they had carried, ſaid and did a thouſand extravagant things, which plainly ſhewed him to be a madman. The king was willing to conſider him in that light, and gave orders that he ſhould be confined in Bedlam.

This man was ſaid be the ſon of a very rich citizen of London. After he had, in a ſhort time, ſquandered what money had been left him by his mother, and been diſinherited by his father, he had recourſe to the abovementioned expedient, to repair his ruined fortune. It is this ſort of gentry, that fill the roads with highwaymen. There are numbers of them in England, becauſe, as I have already obſerved, the

Engliſh

Engliſh ſcarce ever obſerve a medium between the moſt profuſe prodigality, and the moſt ſcrupulous and exact œconomy. The contraſt between theſe two diſpoſitions is ſufficiently illuſtrated by the example which I have juſt cited, and by that of the old man who took the loſs of a lighted match ſo much to heart: both the one and the other are determined by the force of the national character, which hurries on the Engliſh irreſiſtibly,

'Quò juſſit ſplendida Bilis.'

Such are the advantages and diſadvantages, the good and the evil, which reſult from the Engliſh character in its preſent ſtate; and in this ſtate, I doubt very much, whether the French, who affect a ſtrong paſſion for every thing Engliſh would conſent to change condition and manners with that people.

REMEDY OF THESE EVILS.

IF any one ſhould deſire this change, it is the king of England, who no longer finds among his people that ſubmiſſion and dutiful docility which they paid to the Edwards and the Henry's. But in the days of thoſe princes the vine was cultivated in England *; all the ports of the kingdom were open to French, Spaniſh, and Italian wines; the monaſteries and the chapter-houſes had their cellars †; in a word, the juice of

* The wine produced there might appear tolerable in thoſe ages, in which the kings of France were reduced to make uſe of the wine of Suſene at their own tables.

† "Vinum ſacrificale de communi noſtro cellario "volumus recipi". Conſt. Capituli Saliſburgenſis, apud

of the grape was in ſuch general uſe, and the people who are always in extremes, abuſed it to ſuch a degree, that king Henry * V. by an expreſs law, forbid every Engliſhman to drink wine without water.

The revolutions of England were then conducted with a blind impetuoſity, and not with that ſpirit of conſiſtency, reflection, and combination, which, after having carried the rights and privileges of the nation as far as it could, keeps its ground with a reſolution and foreſight, which nothing can alter nor relax, and which the contention of oppoſite parties increaſes, inſtead of diminiſhing.

We ſee in France itſelf the power, that a more or leſs extenſive uſe of wine has upon a nation. Our anceſtors regulated the affairs of ſtate over a bottle; but at the ſame time, regulated themſelves ſo ill, that all their projects vaniſhed with the bottle, from whence they took their riſe. All that remained, after their conſultations, was a few ſongs, which little alarmed the govern-

apud Cangium. "We are willing that the ſacred "wine ſhould be taken out of our cellar."

* 'Edicit proclamatione publicâ, ut nullus Anglicus vinum non lymphatum potare preſumat.' Elmham, vit. Henr. V. ibidem. "He ordered by pub"lic proclamation, that no Engliſhman ſhould pre"ſume to drink wine, unleſs it was firſt diluted with "water." I was informed in London, that, according to certain records ſtill to be ſeen amongſt the archives of the Exchequer, the Engliſh, having made themſelves maſters of Guienne, imported from Bourdeaux, alone 20,000 hogſheads of wine every year.

ment:

ment: the French were neither devoted to politics, nor a prey to vapours *.

Since a change in the national manners has baniſhed the abuſe, and, in proceſs of time, even the uſe of wine, Rabelais ſunk by Angola, by Mizapouf, &c. Pantagruel defeated by all the heroes in za, ze, zi, zo, zu, experience themſelves the great change of condition, which Epiſtemon obſerved in the other world, amongſt the moſt celebrated philoſophers and heroes of antiquity †; inſipid raillery, pitiful conundrums, dull metaphyſics, and plaintive elegies, have ſupplied the place of light converſation, amiable ſimplicity, ſprightly wit, Bacchanalian ſongs, and joyous parodies ‡: in fine, funeral urns, coffins,

* Till the time of the regency inclusive, every Frenchman ſung, with the ſprightly Lanez:

' J'aime à chanter, à rire, à boire,
' Du reſte ne m'en parlez pas.
' Toujours la gazette ou l'hiſtoire,
' Les rois, les heros, et leur gloire,
' Viennent troubler la douceur d'un repas.
' J'aime à chanter, à rire, à boire:
' Du reſte ne m'en parlez pas.

" I love the hours of life to paſs
" In ſinging and the chearful glaſs;
" In mirth and joy my life ſhall glide,
" Then ſpeak to me of naught beſide.
" I hate dull politics and cares.
" All buſineſs and all ſtate affairs.
" The fame of kings and chiefs deſtroys
" The feaſts exhilarating joys.
" In mirth and play my life ſhall glide,
" Then ſpeak to me of nought beſide."

† Rabelais, l. ii. c. 30.

‡ Some ſpeculatiſts aſcribe this revolution, in part, to the luxury which, prevailing amongſt people of all ranks,

coffins, and melancholy cypreſs-boughs, are become faſhionable even in buildings of the moſt elegant taſte.

If this laſts——but it is contrary to the nature of things that it ſhould laſt: inconſtancy will recal us again to gaiety,

The exorbitant duties laid upon foreign wine in England, and eſpecially of French growth * have conſtrained that nation to have recourſe to thoſe domeſtic wines, of which I have ſpoken above; that is to ſay, to a ſort of liquor, which is but little palatable to thoſe that have a good taſte, and deſtructive to perſons, who, in the uſe of it, follow the impulſe of an inordinate appetite. On the other hand, French wine, before it is imported to England, pays duties in France, which, whilſt they lay a conſtraint upon its exportation, encourage the merchants of Picardy to increaſe the quantity by adulteration. It would be, notwithſtanding, worth while to let the Engliſh have it good in its kind, and in ſuch a quantity, as, leaving it to their diſcretion how to uſe it, might put them upon the ſame footing they were on before the eſtabliſhment of the duties.

The œconomical and political intereſt of France conſpires with the perſonal intereſt of the king of England, to open afreſh the antient communication between the two kingdoms, which have ſometimes contrived to accommodate matters of much greater difficulty.

ranks, has rendered their minds a prey to inquietude, and the cares which are the conſtant concomitants of indigence.

* Theſe exorbitant duties are dated from the year 1690.

France

France has not a moment to loſe to put itſelf in a condition, by a reduction of the duties upon wines intended for Engliſh conſumption, of reſiſting a dangerous rivalſhip, which may ſhortly ariſe from the colonies of Carolina and Georgia. We are told, that in theſe two provinces, vines grow ſpontaneouſly in the midſt of the woods, and the planters have, for ſome time paſt, attached themſelves to the cultivation of them. All circumſtances concur on the part of England to encourage this cultivation: facility of tranſportation, certainty of ſale, exemption from duties, perquiſites and gratifications promiſed, as well by the public as by individuals. London has already received two hogſheads of this wine, which proved exceeding good; and people flattered themſelves, that, in a few years, Engliſh America would furniſh a moiety, at leaſt of wine ſufficient for the conſumption of its metropolis.

The uſe of wine being reſtored in England, whether by France or America; the Engliſh grown more tractable and leſs ſpeculative, more gay, and leſs addicted to diſpute and wrangling, more friends to ſociety, and leſs ſaturnine, more ſubmiſſive, and leſs occupied with ſtate affairs, leſs profound in their ſpeculations, and more religious; the Engliſh, I ſay, will then have no fault to find with the change in their manner of living, unleſs they ſhould imitate that ridiculous Athenian, who, being cured by the care of his friends of a hypochondriac diſorder, exclaimed,

'Pol me occidiſtis, amici,
'Dum demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus
'error.'

I obſerved, that the political intereſt of the king of England and the œconomical intereſt of France

France concur to reſtore the uſe of wine to Great Britain. It would indeed be ſomewhat extraordinary, and I am not now able to clear up the point, if the heat of ſpirits in the people of England, and the violence of revolutions, had a gradual progreſſion proportioned to the increaſe of the duties upon wine.

I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that all I have been ſaying upon this ſubject is only a homily or commentary upon a maxim conſecrated by the authority of holy writ *.

WOMEN.

WOULD the fair ſex be gainers, if this maxim were to be obſerved in England? That ſex is, in its preſent ſtate, juſt ſuch as one could wiſh it to be, in order to form the felicity of wedlock. The ſhare which the women have in the ſeriouſneſs and melancholy of the nation, by rendering them ſedentary, attaches them to their huſbands, to their children, and the care of their houſes. They, for the moſt part, nurſe their own children themſelves; and this cuſtom, which gains ground every day, is a new tie of affection to the mothers.

This melancholy diſpoſition makes moſt young women in England of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, have an inclination to the convent. Thoſe in whom this inclination is ſtrongeſt, croſs the ſeas, and repair to the nunneries in Flanders and France, into which they are received as boarders, upon the funds aſſign-

* 'Date vinum iis qui amaro ſunt animo, et bibant.' Proverbs i. 31. "Give wine to thoſe that be of heavy "hearts, let them drink."

ed

ed in theſe ſtates, for the ſupport and encouragement of new converts to the Roman Catholic religion. Saint Omers is the chief town in Flanders for eſtabliſhments of this nature. Engliſh gentlemen, who paſs through this city in their travels, or who are excited to go over to ſee any of their relations among the nuns, are very kindly received by thoſe ladies. They are readily admitted into the cloiſters, where they have an opportunity of converſing with their countrywomen and relations, who avail themſelves of theſe converſations to attempt their converſion. In England itſelf there are ſome convents, which are made to paſs upon the public for boarding-ſchools: in theſe places, nuns are admitted to make their vows. Thoſe who have gone through this ceremony, being dreſſed ſimply and modeſtly, live in ſociety, perform all the exerciſes enjoined them by the rules of their order, and ſometimes go abroad, and viſit their families. I happened one day to dine in the country, with one of theſe ladies: in the evening I waited upon her home, with part of the company, to her convent, to which father de la Valette had been confeſſor during his reſidance in England.

I have cited ſome facts above, which prove that the Engliſh women are by no means indifferent about public affairs. Their intereſting themſelves in theſe, gives a new pleaſure to ſocial life: the huſband always finds at home ſomebody to whom he can open himſelf, and converſe as long and as earneſty as he thinks proper, upon thoſe ſubjects which he has moſt at heart.

All appearances of intimacy between the two ſexes is dropped in public, at thoſe meals where perſons

perſons belonging to different families meet: the women retire, ſoon after the cloth is taken away; the wine is then put upon the table, and the gueſts begin to enter upon converſation. The ladies accompany the miſtreſs of the houſe to her apartment; where they enter into a chit-chat by themſelves.

At the grand aſſemblies, play is the only thing that unites both ſexes. If they meet only to chat and converſe, the women, generally ſpeaking, place themſelves near the door, and leave the upper end of the apartment, and all the converſation, to the men.

At an aſſembly thus compoſed of both ſexes, a lady aſked me, whether I ſtill had many curioſities and objects of obſervation to viſit in London? I made anſwer that there was ſtill one of great importance left for me to know, and that ſhe and her company could give me all the information I deſired: this was, whether, in England, the huſband or the wife governed the houſe? My queſtion being explained to all the ladies preſent, they diſcuſſed it, amuſed themſelves with it; and the anſwer which they agreed ſhould be returned to me was, that huſbands alone could reſolve me. I then propoſed it to the huſbands, who with one voice declared, that they durſt not decide.

The perplexity diſcovered by thoſe gentlemen gave me the ſolution I deſired. In fact, the Engliſh ladies and wives, with the moſt mild and gentle tone, and with an air of indifference, coldneſs, and languor, exerciſe a power equally deſpotic over both huſbands and lovers: a power ſo much the more permanent, as it is eſtabliſhed and ſupported by a complaiſance

plaiſance and ſubmiſſiveneſs from which they rarely depart *.

This complaiſance, this ſubmiſſion, and this mildneſs, are happy virtues of conſtitution, which nature has given them, to ſerve as a ſort of maſk to all that is moſt haughty, proud, and impetuous, in the Engliſh character.

To the gifts of nature, add the charms of beauty †; which is very common in England. With

* 'Hæc ſunt illarum veneficia.' "Theſe their "love-potions." There are notwithſtanding in England noiſy and ſcolding wives. Mr. Tonnely, in the notes upon his tranſlation of Hudibras, gives us to underſtand, that, to correct theſe ſcolds, they are ſuſpended in a chair over a place full of water, and obliged to undergo the diſcipline of ducking. This adds he, is called in Engliſh a 'ducking-ſtool.' This bears a ſtrong reſemblance, and perhaps is juſt the ſame with the popular ſtory current in France, concerning the man, who, having plunged his wife in a well, for calling him a louſy fellow, kept her there half a foot under water. The ſtory adds, that even in this condition, joining her thumbs together, ſhe continued to ſignify by a ſign, the abuſe which ſhe could no longer expreſs by words.

I have ſince found, in the ancient regulations of the police of Rouen, an expreſs law for the ducking of ſcolds: 'Si fœmina convincatur eſſe litigioſa et 'maledica, alligabitur ſune ſubtus aſcellas, et ter in 'aquam projicietur.' "If a woman be convicted "of being quarrelſome and foul mouthed, let a rope "be tied under her arms, and then let her be three "times ducked in water." 'Charta comm. Rothom 'Recuil des ordonnances par M. de Lauriece, tom. i. 'page 308. Thus the ducking-ſtool may be conſidered as an expedient deviſed by Engliſh gallantry, to mitigate the rigour of the Norman law.

† Their fine bloom and complexion are owing, no doubt,

With regard to graces, the Engliſh women have thoſe which accompany beauty, and not thoſe artificial graces that cannot ſupply its place; thoſe tranſient graces, which are not the ſame to-day as yeſterday; thoſe graces, which are not ſo much in the objects themſelves, as in the eye of the ſpectator, who has often found it difficult to diſcover them.

So ſenſible are the Engliſh ladies of their beauty, that they neglect their dreſs, and are little ſolicitous about adorning their perſons. A lady when at home, generally wears a diſhabille ſuited to the œconomy of her houſe. If ſhe happens to make her appearance in a morning in St. James's park, it is in a ſhort gown, a long white apron and a hat, and ſhe is attended by a waiting-maid dreſſed as elegantly as herſelf.

At public aſſemblies diamonds and lace adorn the ſex, and then they make a diſtinguiſhed figure. The care of dreſſing, that of dreſſing the hair above all, is obſervable only in a ſmall number of ladies, who, thinking, no doubt, that they have occaſion for it, have reſolution enough to go through all the operations of the hair dreſſer *.

The country life led by theſe ladies during great part of the year, and the freedom which accompanies that way of life, make them continue an agreeable negligence in dreſs, which never gives diſguſt.

no doubt, to what has been mentioned, to the principles of vegetation and animal nutrition, peculiar to England.

* Were the author in London at this time, 1772, the number of theſe ladies would not appear to him to be ſmall. T.

At the trial of lord Byron, I ſaw only a few ladies dreſſed in the French taſte. All the reſt, decked in the fineſt manner with brocades, diamonds, and lace, had no other head-dreſs, but a ribband tied to their hair, over which they wore a flat hat, adorned with a variety of ornaments.

It requires much obſervation to be able to give a full account of the great effect produced by this hat: it affords the ladies who wear it that arch and roguiſh air, which the winged hat gives to Mercury; it animates their faces with a degree of vivacity, which is not natutal to them. In the midſt of theſe hats, which filled Weſtminſter-hall, the heads of thoſe ladies, who were dreſſed according to the French faſhion, reſembled unfurniſhed houſes. No rouge was laid upon their faces: the rouge, which the French-women have, doubtleſs, borrowed from the ancient Picts, has not as yet croſſed the ſeas *.

A good ſhape is the moſt ſtriking article of Engliſh beauty, from which it is almoſt inſeparable: it is owing to the free and eaſy manner, with which the bodies of children of the preſent generation have been formed, and the little uſe made of ſwaddling cloaths, or canſtraint of any ſort. Inſtead of that armour of whalebone, ſtill made uſe of in France, to put a force upon nature †, and which often quite ſpoils it, they uſe

* It were to be wiſhed, that the practice of our women of faſhion ſhould verify this remark. T.

† If we conſider how Bodin ſpeaks of it, in his Method of Hiſtory, chap. 5. we may preſume, that the uſe of theſe boddice, introduced at court by Catharine

uſe in England only a ſort of whalebone waiſt-coat, which juſt reaches to the breaſt, and has no other effect but that of keeping the body in a ſlight compreſſion. Two ribbands, from the fore to the hindpart, keep it on, without bridling or putting any conſtraint upon the ſhoulders. When in diſhabille, theſe ribbands generally falling upon the arms, the upper part of the body, diſengaged from all veſture and ligature, receives and is benefited by the overplus of nouriſhment, which the compreſſion of the lower part diſtributes to it *, whence reſults the eaſe and beauty of the ſhape.

Theſe ſtays are preciſely the 'ceſtus,' which makes a part of the dreſs of the Grecian goddeſſes and virgins in antient monuments: this was the ſo much celebrated girdle of Venus †. The needle-work with which this ceſtus was,

tharine of Medici, and the women of Florence who came over with her, was eſtabliſhed at Paris about the middle of the ſixteenth century: 'Verendum eſt 'ne is habitus fœminarum, quo *nunc* utuntur ad cor-'poris formam venuſtiorem, efficiat ut partus anguſ-'tiori thorace naſcantur, et, mutatâ formâ, pulmo-'nici evadant. "It is much to be feared, leſt the dreſs, which women now uſe upon account of their ſhape, ſhould make their children be born with a narrow cheſt, and this alteration in the natural figure ſhould render them aſthmatic and conſumptive."

* 'Haud ſimiles ſunt virginum noſtrarum, quas 'matres ſtudent
'Demiſſis humeris eſſe, vincto pectore, graciles 'ut ſient.
"They are by no means like our girls, whom their "mothers, by binding down their breaſts and arms "endeavour to make ſlender."

† Κεςὸν ἱμάντα ποικίλον, "the ceſtus, a variegated belt.

generally

generally ſpeaking, enriched, preſented to the view all that art could add to the moſt perfect and moſt ſeducing production of nature †.

The neck of an Engliſh lady, being neither ſqueezed nor compreſſed in its growth and increaſe, enjoys all the advantages of liberty; but by degrees ſhe abuſes it; and this abuſe is carried ſo much the farther, as it is, for the moſt part, formed upon the model of thoſe of Picardy: in both places, they equally anſwer the purpoſe intended by nature, and conſpire with her views.

The Engliſh ladies did not adopt that dreſs, which Catharine of Medici had introduced into France, in the form of a fiſhing-net. It compleatly enwraped the whole body up to the chin: the neck itſelf was ſurrounded with a ruff. This dreſs ſoon became quite faſhionable with the women of Paris. This we learn from a fact related by father Niceron, in the life of Thomas Dempſter, "That writer, ſays father Niceron, having married about the year 1610, a woman of extraordinary beauty, came with her to Paris. One day as he was walking with her through the ſtreets, they were ſurrounded by a crowd, which was drawn together by the dazzling beauty of the lady, who, according to the cuſtom of her country, diſplayed to the eye one of the fineſt boſoms in the univerſe, and ſhoulders which in whiteneſs vied with the driven ſnow. The crowd ſoon became ſo conſiderable, that the married couple were in danger of being ſtifled, and would infallibly have been ſo, if they had not quickly fled for refuge to the nigheſt houſes.

†"Ο ἑκλεψε νόον πόκα καὶ φρονέοντων, "which ſteals the hearts, even of the wiſe." Homer, Il. xiv.

Even

Even during the life-time of Catharine of Medici, the ladies of Florence had entirely laid aſide a dreſs, which was of little advantage to them: their new apparel was our preſent court habit. Queen Margaret had adopted it with eagerneſs, and Mary of Medici found the mode quite eſtabliſhed.

In England the children of the other ſex enjoy from the cradle the ſame liberty: the people there do not diſtruſt nature with regard to their offspring; ſhe compleatly anſwers the confidence they place in her care and affiance. They are for the moſt part well-ſhaped, and there are very few deformed or hump-backed children to be ſeen in London. Struck with this extraordinary circumſtance, I examined the thing ſtill more cloſely, and endeavoured to trace it out but to no purpoſe. When I happened to be walking in ſome remote quarter of the town, one or other of my acquaintance, ſurpriſed to ſee me there, aſked me what I was in queſt of? A hump-backed man, anſwered I; but I cannot find one.

Alas! replied a Roman Catholic one day, in anſwer to this pleaſantry of mine, how many hump-backed people, deformed creatures, and cripples, are there in the ſight of God! And continuing to walk with me, he talked in the moſt melancholy ſtrain of the multitude of ſects, which overſpread England, ſince the time that God, to puniſh the inſtability of its inhabitants in matters of religion, has given them up to the intemperance of their curioſity, the raſhneſs of their diſputes, and all the violence of their natural temper.

I had already ſeen ſome of theſe ſects at the reſpective meetings, where government tolerates their

their different ſorts of worſhip. I ſhall here give an account of what moſt ſtruck me in each of them.

TOLERATION.

AS I was born, and had lived the greateſt part of my life in a country, where diſputes ſcarcely intelligible, concerning the metaphyſical diſtinctions of the moſt ſublime theology, have given riſe to irreconcileable enmities between churchmen, lawyers, and even merchants *; at each ſtep I walked in London, I, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, ſaw conſtant proofs of the mutual toleration, which there prevails amongſt all ſects.

They ſeem to have taken for the rule of their conduct the verſes, in which the learned Barlæus repreſents all, who believe the ſame God, as brethren †.

Some people conſider the oppoſite conduct to this, as a remnant of Judaiſm; of which religi-

* 'Hi motus animorum atque hæc certamina tanta
'Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcunt.'
"Theſe violent emotions of paſſion and theſe terrible contentions are at reſt, and lie ſtill, upon the throwing of a little duſt."

† 'Cunctorum eſt coluiſſe Deum; non unius ævi,
'Non populi unius credimus eſſe Deum.
'Si ſapimus diverſa, Deo vivamus amici,
'Puraque mens pretio conſtet ubique ſuo.
"All men ſhould worſhip God; we do not believe God to belong in particular to one age or people. Though we are of different perſuaſions, let us all live friends to God, and let the pure mind have every where its due worth."

on it was the chief characteriſtic, in the eye of the Romans *.

The Jews had caught this ſpirit in Egypt, which the Egyptians retained ſtill in the reign of Nero, and which occaſioned ſcenes as intereſting to the actors, as diverting to the ſpectators†.

The perſecuting ſpirit reached even to Siberia. M. de Gmelin, travelling through that country in 1753, found it eſtabliſhed amongſt part of the inhabitants of Niewjauſkoi, who aſſume the name of Old Believers. "To drink brandy is, in their opinion, the greateſt of all crimes: but when they have once yielded to the temptation, they deſpair of being ſaved, and drink it in public, and with every comer; yet they take particular care to drink only out of their own cup, which they never quit: the ſin of ebriety, though ſo very horrible in their eyes, appears to them to be nothing in compariſon, of what they would think themſelves guilty of, were they to drink out of the ſame cup with one who profeſſed the Greek religion."

The Royal Exchange of London is, as it were, the throne of toleration; no nation is there conſidered as foreign, no individual is excommnnicated: none are there looked upon as hereticks, but bankrupts and cheats.

* 'Non monſtrare vias eadem niſi ſacra colenti,
'Quæſitum ad fontem ſolos deducere verpos.'
"Would not ſhew a man his way were he of a "different perſuaſion, or direct to a well any but the "circumciſed."

† See the whole 14th ſatyr of Juvenal.
'——— Summus utrinque
'Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
'Odit uterque locus, cum ſolos credat habendos
'Eſſe deos, quos ipſe colit.'

The

The pariſh dues are equally levied upon all, who live within the extent of the pariſh, without diſtinction, either of religion or ſect.

The church of England baptizes all that offer, marries all, buries all, ſomewhat dearly indeed, but without diſturbing the public tranquillity by impertinent enquiries: it conſiders conſcience, as depending immediately upon God: it makes itſelf all things to all men, like the good curate of Eſchillais, ſo naturally deſcribed by D'Aubigne *.

I one day happened to paſs through St. James's church, at a time when ſeveral of the lower claſs of people were marrying. He that was going to be tied with the nuptial knot, juſt as I entered, preſented himſelf, in his turn, to the parſon, and made a thouſand difficulties to kneel down before him, upon a ſort of mat. Having, at laſt, placed himſelf upon it, he laughed in the face of the clergyman all the time that the latter was reading prayers over him out of the liturgy. I aſked the reaſon of his being guilty of this piece of ill-manners; and the perſon I enquired of anſwered coldly, "The man muſt, doubtleſs, be a diſſenter."

In learned or political ſocieties, in clubs, and at public aſſemblies, religion is no way conſidered: the ſame bench, the ſame row of chairs, often unites five or ſix different ſects, mixed with perſons who have no particular connection with any ſect; and all theſe live together with a harmony and cordiality, which are ſeldom to be met with in an aſſembly of divines of the ſame communion.

* Confeſſ. de Sancy, l. ii. c. 2. Baron de Feneſte, l. iv. c. 8.

In the public ſtreets, the Catholic ſhews the Quaker, the Quaker the Preſbyterian, and the Preſbyterian the Anabaptiſt, the place where thoſe of his ſect have their meetings; and this coolly, politely, and without ſhewing any ſigns of indignation, contempt, or pity.

The ſtage makes all theſe ſects equally contribute to the amuſement of the public. It proceeds in the road, which was opened to it by the celebrated Shakeſpeare. Even the clergy of the church of England themſelves are not ſecure from this licentiouſneſs: if an eccleſiaſtic is brought upon the ſtage, it is to make him act the part of a ſot, a drunkard, a go-between, &c.

Superſtition is an enemy to toleration; an enemy, which neither the Reformation, nor freedom of thinking, have been able to baniſh entirely from England. The old prejudice againſt witchcraft and ſorcerers ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome parts of the kingdom. In 1750 the inhabitants of the county of Hertford, with great ſolemnity, put an old woman to death, whom they looked upon as a witch.

What an influence muſt this prepoſſeſſion have had upon the imagination of the Engliſh, when ſupported by the concurrence of two powers; by the ſight of the faggots, into which numbers of pretended ſorcerers were every day thrown; by the ſermons and other writings of men, who, being divines by profeſſion, appeared to be ſo much ſuperior to the deluſion!

In a work printed at Venice in 1576, with additions, under the title of 'Malleus Maleficarum,' "The Mallet of the Witches," a grave Doctor, James Sprenger, 'ordinis prædicatorum inquiſitor clariſſimus,' "moſt illuſtrious

" luſtrious inquiſitor of the order of preachers," amongſt a multitude of magical facts, in ſupport of each of which he mentions the perſons whom he cauſed to be burned, ſpeaks of one in particular, whom the reader will find at the bottom of the page, in the very words of the author *.

* Chap. vii. queſt. 1. entitled, ' De modo quo ' membra virilia auferre ſolent,' concerning the manner in which they carry off the privy members of men, the author adds as a proof: ' in oppido Ra- ' venſpurg, juvenis quidam juvenculæ adhæſit, quam ' relinquere volens, membrum virile perdidit, ita ut ' nihil videre aut tangere præter planum corpus poſ- ' ſet.' " In the city of Ravenſburg, a young man " clung faſt to a young girl, whom, when he was " deſirous of quitting, he loſt his privy member, ſo " that he could neither ſee nor touch any thing " but his ſmooth body." By the advice of an old woman, he forced the miſtreſs, whom he had quitted, to reſtore it to him. A Dominican of the convent of Spire, ' honeſtate vitæ & ſcientiâ præclarus,' " illuſtrious for his virtuous life and profound know- " ledge," related an event of a ſimilar nature, which he had heard from a young man who confeſſed to him, and that with the more certainty, as he was convinced of the incantation, ' per viſum, nihil cer- ' nendo, cum juvenis, veſtes detegendo, locum de- ' monſtrâſſet,' " by his eyes, ſeeing nothing, when " the young man, taking off his cloathes, ſhewed " him the place;" and afterwards by the cure, which he obtained through his advice, and which he convinced himſelf of, ' experientiâ viſûs certificatus ' denuò.' " Being again certified by the teſtimony of " his ſenſes." In another, the cure was ſtill more wonderful than the witchcraft: ' cum quidam, qui ' membrum perdiderat, quandam maleficam ſanitatis ' recuper-

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE Engliſh place the Papiſts at the head of the Non-conformiſts: this is the ſect, which they dread moſt of all. The Roman Catholics, notwithſtanding, enjoy as much liberty in England, as the Chriſtians had under the moſt tolerating Heathen emperors. Beſides the chapels of the Roman Catholic ambaſſadors, in which the whole ſervice is performed with ſinging, wax-tapers, organs, &c. they have ſome private chapels in London, which are winked at by the government. I have already obſerved, that they have even houſes for nuns. They have alſo biſhops, who are known to be ſuch by all England. The biſhop of London is of the illuſtrious houſe of Talbot. I have heard the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſay, that there is likewiſe a Roman prelate of his dioceſe, who performs all the functions of archbiſhop, in oppoſition to him; and that he knows him, but they very ſeldom meet.

'recuperandæ cauſâ, acceſſiſſet, illâ ut quamdam 'arborem aſcenderet, infirmo injunxit, et ut de nido 'in quo erant plurima membra ſuum acciperet; et 'cùm ille magnum quoddam recipere attentâſſet: 'Non, ait malefica, illud accipias; et ut unum ex 'plebanis attingeret ſubjunxit.' "When a certain "perſon, who had loſt his privy member, ſent for a "witch, in order to try by her means to recover it, "ſhe ordered the patient to climb up a tree, and to "take his own member out of a neſt, in which there "were ſeveral; and when he attempted to take a "large one; Don't take that, ſaid the witch, bidding "him, at the ſame time, take one of the common "ſort."

The

The only privileges of which Roman Catholics have been deprived, are thoſe of ſitting in parliament, and poſſeſſing the firſt places and dignities in the ſtate. They enjoy all the other rights of citizens, both actively and paſſively, as well as the conſideration annexed to birth and riches. The caſe of the duke of Norfolk, who is the firſt peer of England, is a ſtanding proof of the rigour of thoſe laws, which exclude from parliament all ſuch noblemen as refuſe to take the oaths of allegiance to the government: that nobleman has neither vote nor ſeat in the ſupreme court of the nation; yet he is the firſt member of it by his title and dignity.

The firſt oath, the moſt antient of all, and that which the Roman Catholics think the hardeſt, is the oath of allegiance; but it is difficult for a Frenchman to diſcover the venom which they ſo much dread; as it has no power, except upon thoſe that are blindly enſlaved to all the old prejudices of the court of Rome. This oath was deviſed, and firſt introduced, after the famous plot called Gun-powder treaſon *, as an antidote to all the falſe principles, which the authors, the promoters, the divines, and all the writers of the league againſt Henry the Fourth, had preached, propagated, and followed, concerning the authority of ſovereigns. Theſe ſanguinary principles, conſecrated by the famous bull 'in cænâ Domini,' occaſioned all the ana-

* It was in commemoration of this conſpiracy, that the populace of London every year, on the fifth of November, burned the pope in ceremony; as at Paris, the inhabitants of the quarters of St. Dennis and St. Martin burned the Swiſs of the Street aux Ours. Both theſe ceremonies were aboliſhed about the ſame time.

themas launched at Henry the Fourth and queen Elizabeth, they had been the ſource of all the rebellions formed againſt thoſe two great monarchs; they were the torch that kindled the war, which Paul the Fifth declared againſt the republic of Venice.

The oath of allegiance affirms, in oppoſition to theſe principles, that the pope neither has in his own right, nor by any title or means whatever, any juſt claim to the crown and dominions of ſovereigns; that he cannot diſpoſe of them; that he cannot arm ſubjects againſt their prince; in a word, that it is falſe, that thoſe kings, whom he has excommunicated, may be juſtly depoſed or aſſaſſinated, &c.

Paul the Fifth condemned this oath, by two briefs: Cardinal Bellarmine, examining every point of it, in a tract publiſhed in another perſon's name, made uſe of no other argument againſt it, but the pope's authority over the temporalities of kings; in fine, cardinal du Perron, in his famous ſpeech to the ſtates of Paris in 1614, availed himſelf of this very oath, to eſtabliſh the maxims of the court of Rome upon the ruins of the Gallican church.

King James the Firſt defended the oath, which was his own * work, againſt all theſe attacks. He publiſhed an apology againſt Paul the Fifth and Bellarmine; and oppoſed the ſpeech of du

* See the account of this important diſpute, and the works, which it occaſioned, annexed to the life of Burhill, which makes part of the Memoirs of Father Niceron, t. xxii page 257. The Jeſuits interpoſed: Martin Becan and Eudæmon-Johannes, doughty champions in controverſy, laid open, in virulent tracts againſt kings and regal power, the favourite maxims of their ſociety.

Perron,

Perron, by a declaration of his ſentiment concerning the rights of kings, and the independency of their crowns. Theſe two works, dedicated to all the potentates of Europe, fill two hundred and forty pages in twelves; and there appeared at London an edition of them in French. They contain all that was ever ſaid in France upon that important ſubject by, the Dumenils, the Pithous, the de Thous, the Servins, &c.* When we trace this affair to its firſt principles, there remains a difference ſcarce ſenſible between the oath of ſupremacy of the Engliſh, and the four articles determined by the clergy of France in 1682; between the apology for the oath by king James, and the defence of the four articles by the great biſhop of Meaux; between the motives of oppoſition to the oath, made by the popes and the catholics who are under their immediate protection, and the reaſons by which the four articles have been conſtantly oppugned by the Jeſuits, and their moſt faithful adherents.

An implicit attachment to the pope, as well in practice as ſpeculation, is the firſt article of faith with the Engliſh Catholics: they think in this reſpect as their anceſtors, when they ſubmitted to pay Peter-pence. The Jeſuits and their diſciples encourage them in this zealous attachment to the court of Rome, by works drawn up with that intention, and printed under their inſpection at Doway. The Roman Breviary, which all the biſhops of France have

* England, at the very time of its greateſt ſubjection to the popes, had its liberties, the ſupporting of which depended upon the meaſures taken by its kings, &c. See the 69th letter of Peter de Blois, and the notes upon the edition of 1667.

abrogated in their dioceſes, is their Bible and their Goſpel: they religiouſly obſerve all the feſtivals marked in the rubric of this Breviary, and theſe make very near a third part of the year. To the faſts which it appoints, they add others of ſupererogation: thus it is cuſtomary with them to faſt every Friday. The life they lead is not, however, ſo auſtere as that which the Reformation introduced into the Engliſh manners: if in England we ſeek for gaiety, gallantry, and what in France, is called the tone of good company, we ſhould look for them chiefly amongſt the Catholics: thus, in their excluſive principles, with regard to heaven, they go merrily to Paradiſe, whilſt their heretical countrymen, according to their notions, lag on ſadly to hell. They retained a ſociable ſpirit amidſt the flames of civil war: the Cromwellians, and all the new-light folks, who, having renounced the ſocial virtues, called themſelves Roundheads, looked upon the Catholicks in the light of beaus and petit-maitres, and gave them the appellation of Cavaliers.

The latter are governed and directed throughout the three kingdoms, by Catholic prelates, who are appointed by the church of Rome; and, above all, by Jeſuits, who often raiſe diſturbances in the midſt of the Catholic flock. The Janſeniſm of France derives its ſource from a book publiſhed under the fictitious name of Petrus Aurelius, in oppoſition to the pretenſions, which theſe fathers made in England, to a right of adminiſtring confirmation concurrently with the Catholic biſhops.

At the ſame time, the Iriſh Catholics, who had taken arms in favour of Charles the Firſt, ſuddenly fell upon the Engliſh, ſettled in the different

different provinces of Ireland *. This revolution, which began in 1640, was ſtill ſupported in 1649, and became the firſt object of Cromwell's ſolicitude, who croſſing over to that kingdom at the head of an army, eſtabliſhed his authority upon the ruins of the royal party.

The common intereſt, which had armed the Catholics, ſhould have preſerved union among them; but private advantages, oppoſite views, and the antipathy between the Jeſuits and other monks, kept up factions and diviſions amongſt them, which facilitated the ſucceſs of Cromwell's expedition.

There is ſtill extant a monument of this diviſion, in a manifeſto of the Cordeliers, printed in Latin at Paris in 1650 †, againſt the Jeſuits and

* Sir John Temple makes the number of Proteſtants maſſacred in this rebellion amount to three hundred thouſand. The abbé Ma-Geoghegan has endeavoured to apologize for this maſſacre in his Hiſtory of Ireland; but he makes uſe of the ſame arguments, which were urged in France, in vindication of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

† With this title: 'Vindiciarum Catholicorum 'Hiberniæ libri II. quorum I. rerum in Heb. geſta-'rum ab anno 1640 ad ann. 1649, veriſſimam et ac-'torum publicorum fide munitam ſynopſin: II. Li-'belli famoſi in Catholicos Hiberniæ proceres qui 'honeſtiſſimam cum regiæ partis hominibus pacem 'inierunt, accuratam confutationem continet. Auc-'tore Philopatre Irenæo ad Alitophilum.' "Two "books of the vindication of the Iriſh Catholics, the "firſt of which contains an abridgement of the hiſ-"tory of the Iriſh affairs from the year 1640 to the "year 1649, ſtrictly true, and confirmed by public "acts; and the ſecond of which contains an accurate "refutation of the infamous libels againſt the Ca-"tholic

and the biſhop of Fermo, the pope's nuncio in Ireland: by agreement with theſe fathers, the nuncio returned to Rome, after having excommunicated all the Iriſh Catholics that had entered into a nagociation with the duke of Ormond, who treated for Charles the Firſt.

This diviſion, ſupported and fomented by the inquiſition and by Albizzi, the ſoul of that tribunal, and agent of the Jeſuits, favoured the views of Cromwell; left none to oppoſe him but the excommunicated, who were headed by Inchiquin; and kept in inaction the jeſuitical party, commanded by Eugene O Neal, who, at laſt, entered into an accommodation with Cromwell, and delivered up to him the province of Munſter.

This intelligence with the uſurper occaſioned the reproaches, which fill the 20th and the following chapters of the Cordeliers manifeſto: a piece more valuable, with reſpect to hiſtory, as no writer on the ſubject, Father Orleans * himſelf not excepted, has condeſcended to relate the facts therein ſpecified †.

If

" tholic nobles of Ireland, who concluded a moſt " honourable peace with thoſe of the royal party. " The author Philopater Irenæus to Alitophilus." The firſt part contains three hundred pages, and the ſecond, two hundred and thirty-ſix, in Elzevir types.

* He only ſays, in book 10, under the year 1655, that Cromwell ſhewed leſs averſion to the Catholics, than to the Epiſcopalians, which their authors greatly complain of; that the Jeſuits never hurt the Reformation more, nor brought over more proſelytes to the Church of Rome, than under his government.

† The abbé Ma-Geoghegan, in his Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 676, and the following, cites the Vindiciæ;

If this manifeſto had been known to the French refugee, who, in a libel publiſhed in Holland in 1691, with the title of 'Memoirs of 'the life of James the Second,' declared, and maintained, that the condemnation, baniſhment, and excommunication of Charles the Firſt, were brought about by the Jeſuits, and that a Jeſuit was the executioner of that prince *; he, without doubt, would not have failed to join to the details with which he ſupports this anecdote, thoſe paſſages in the work of the Cordeliers, which diſcover the intelligence eſtabliſhed between Cromwell and the Iriſh under the influence of the Jeſuits.

The Catholics of England at preſent enjoy a profound peace, both within and without. For this they are indebted to that national ſpirit, which has at laſt convinced them, that a perſecuting diſpoſition gives riſe to a thouſand ills; and that men impoſe upon themſelves, when they expect any good from it. An Engliſh Jeſuit happening, ſoon after his arrival from Rome, to be in company with the earl of Cheſterfield, manifeſted to that nobleman the moſt ardent zeal for religion, and a determined reſolution to do and ſuffer any thing in ſo good a cauſe: "The time is paſt, anſwered the wiſe lord; it is to no purpoſe for you to aſpire to the honour of martyrdom; fire and faggot are quite out of vogue." I have already obſerved, that the Engliſh are at preſent ſo little afraid of the Jeſuits, who were

Vindiciæ; but he confines himſelf to ſome facts relative to the Catholic confederacy: he omits all the diviſions which rendered it abortive, the cauſes of thoſe diviſions, and, above all, the abſurd proceedings of the legate and the Jeſuits.

* See the article King, farther on.

ſo

ſo formidable to them in the laſt century, that they would be glad to ſee all the members of that ſociety, who were baniſhed from France and other countries, go over to England.

If de la Fontaine had ſeen England and Italy, he would, doubtleſs, have rectified the memoirs, which he has left us concerning the countries of Papefigue and Papimanie. Papefigue is called, ſays he,

' L'iſle & province, ou les gens autrefois
' Firent la figue au portrait du S. Pere :
' Punis en ſont : rien chez eux ne proſpere.—
' L'iſle fut lors donnée en appanage
' A Lucifer ; c'eſt ſa maiſon des champs.'

" The iſle and province, the inhabitants of " which formerly made mouths at his holineſs's " picture: they are puniſhed for it: nothing " ſucceeds or proſpers with them.—The iſland " was then given to Lucifer as an eſtate; his " country-houſe ſtands upon it."

By means of memoirs more authentic, Molza, who was at the fountain-head of information, has made the panegyric of excommunication *. According to him, God, to ſhew his contempt for worldly things, gives them to the excommunicated.

It in fact appears, that England has found, in the excommunication under which it lives, and in the interdict which it has obſerved but too well †, the ſource of that opulence, ſplendor, and power, to which it has attained by degrees; as well as that of liberty, which is its moſt firm ſupport.

* ' Capitolo in lode della Eſcommunica.'

† D'Orlean's Hiſtory of the Revolutions of England, book ix.

The

The majeſty of the kings of England would have remained more inviolable, ſaid the great Boſſuet, if ſatisfied with its own ſacred prerogatives, it had not endeavoured to appropriate to itſelf the rights and authority of the church *. In vain did they think of ſtill preſerving the affections of their ſubjects by retaining epiſcopacy: of what conſequence are biſhops, who have themſelves annihilated their authority †?

In the opinion of Boſſuet, the church of England was the firſt of thoſe ſects, into which that kingdom was ſplit: yet the retaining of the epiſcopal dignity diſtinguiſhed it from the reſt, and with this advantage, that it had, according to Boſſuet himſelf, a ſucceſſion, and, as that ſucceſſion had its 'ſource in pope Gregory and the 'monk Auguſtin, his diſciple, the firſt apoſtle 'of the Engliſh nation'

M. Boſſuet has thus, by anticipation, decided the grand queſtion ſince broached, concerning the validity of Engliſh ordinations; but whilſt he traces the ſource of their ſucceſſion no higher than to pope Gregory, he ſeems to have forgot

* That authority gives them the rights annexed to the title of Pontifex Maximus amongſt the Romans: a title, which was retained by the Chriſtian emperors till the reign of Gratian. The exerciſe of this authority appears extraordinary, in ſeveral points, to eyes accuſtomed to the ſacerdotal power. Theſe ſee, with aſtoniſhment, James the Firſt granting a ſpecial commiſſion to diſpenſe an archbiſhop of Canterbury, accuſed of murder, from the penance ordained by the church. Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 337 and 339. George the Firſt publiſhed, as ſupreme head of the church, a proclamation againſt Socinianiſm, which was beginning to prevail in that church, &c.

† Funeral oration of the queen of England.

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the mention made by St. Athanaſius of the Engliſh biſhops, who aſſiſted at the council of Sardica; and the miſſion of St. Germain d'Auxerre and St. Loup de Troyes, who went over to England in the fifth century: it is true, theſe prelates had their miſſion, not from the pope, but from the clergy of France.

The miſſion of the monk Auguſtine in England contained the ſeeds of the right ſince claimed by the popes, of governing the whole church by miſſionaries or ſimple vicars. Gregory VII. and Boniface VII. whilſt they left the biſhops the name and external honours of epiſcopacy, looked upon them as mere delegates, whom they might change when they thought proper: and the biſhops, affected only by the preſent advantage, whilſt they took the benefice with all the duties annexed to it, hugged the chain, which Rome prepared for them. This 'arcanum imperii,' this ſecret of the government has diſcovered itſelf openly in the laſt centuries, by the authority which the popes have at length eſtabliſhed over the churches of China, Japan, Holland, &c. governing them immediately by ſimple miſſionaries; a government which is become the ſource of ſcandal between eccleſiaſtics of different orders diſperſed up and down in the miſſions, whoſe miſunderſtanding made perhaps part of the 'arcanum imperii;' a government, which has annihilated Chriſtianity in Japan, where it would have maintained its ground, if the church of Japan had been eſtabliſhed upon the foundations laid by the apoſtles, and adminiſtered by national biſhops; but Rome could not put the ſame confidence in theſe biſhops, which ſhe placed in the Jeſuits.

Again, Boſſuet, in placing the converſion of England to Chriſtianity no higher than the age of

of St. Gregory and his delegate, followed the path traced out by Stapleton, who publiſhed, in 1566, a large work, ſince tranſlated into Latin, with the title of 'Propugnaculum Fidei,' to prove the orthodoxy of the primitive faith of England, the eſtabliſhment of which he fixes at the miſſion of the delegate of St. Gregory.

But this is all one as to attribute the firſt origin of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in France to the connections of Pepin and Charlemagne with the popes, who from thence derived an immediate influence upon the Gallican church; it had till then been independent, like the church of England. If Stapleton had thought proper to trace the matter any higher, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians of England opened a fair field for him. According to theſe writers, the origin of Chriſtianity reached as far back as King Lucius, contemporary of the apoſtles; which, in their apprehenſion, inſures to the Britiſh kings the title of eldeſt ſon of the church: ſome have even gone ſo far as to maintain, that St. Peter and St. Paul preached the goſpel there in perſon; whilſt the preſent Engliſh affirm, that St. Peter never ſaw Rome, and that he neither preached nor held his ſeat there; to ſuch extremes are men led, both by belief and incredulity *.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE church of England, ſeveral times reformed, purified by the flames of the moſt cruel perſecutions, ſacrificed with Charles I. its intrepid defender, and reſtored with the regal power

* 'Periculoſum eſt credere et non credere.' "It is dangerous, both to believe and not to believe."

by

by Charles II. does not, either in its dogmas or its liturgy, bear an exact reſemblance to any of the communions which have ſeparated from the church of Rome: it has nothing in common with them, but its antipathy to the biſhop of Rome; an antipathy as great, and perhaps as unreaſonable, as the voluntary ſlavery, in which it long lived under the popes.

This religion has an illuſtrious teſtimony in its favour, that of Charles I. who, when priſoner at Holmby; when he foreſaw the fatal ſentence, which was to be pronounced againſt him by his enemies; when, in fine, he was ready to appear before the throne of God, ſaid, in the laſt advice which he gave to the prince of Wales his ſon: "I can affirm to you with truth, that I have carefully examined the eſtabliſhed religion of the church of England. After much inveſtigation and long diſcuſſions, I have at laſt come to a concluſion, that this was the moſt perfect ſyſtem of religion in the world, not only in general as a form of Chriſtianity: but in particular, as being a reformed religion, holding a medium between the pomp of a ſuperſtitious tyranny, and the meanneſs of a fantaſtic anarchy *.

The preſent heads of the church of England, that is to ſay, the two archbiſhops and the twenty-four biſhops who govern it, have retained only a part of the revenue formerly annexed to their ſees: thus have they, at leaſt, in that reſpect, loſt conſiderably by ſeparating from the church of Rome: this certainly could not have been foreſeen by thoſe prelates, who firſt endeavoured to bring about or conſented to this ſeparation; or, if they foreſaw it, they ſacrificed the

* Εικὼν βασιλικὴ, towards the end.

intereſt

intereſt of their ſee and of their ſucceſſors, to the temptation offered by the ſpoils of the Catholics.

The Engliſh prelates are, however, far from the ſtate of poverty, which the church of Africa impoſed upon its biſhops as a law *, and from the indigent condition, in which the primate of Cappadocia, Baſil the great, deſpiſed the menaces of the emperor's officer's to ſeize his temporalities †.

Since the ſeparation from Rome, Engliſh biſhoprics were become the rewards of merit; that is to ſay, the kings of England, without having any regard to birth, conferred them on the greateſt preachers, and on men moſt eminent for learning, or for their labours in the vineyard. This regulation in the choice of perſons did not eſtabliſh between the ſuperior and inferior clergy thoſe diſtinctions ‡, which, keeping them at a diſtance

* 'Epiſcopus non longe ab eccleſiâ hoſpitiolum, 'vilem ſupellectilem et menſam ac pauperem victum 'habeat, et dignitatis ſuæ auctoritatem fide ac meri-'tis qærat.' Con. Carth. 4, & Decret. Dieſt. 41. 'Can. Epiſcopus & clericus.' "Let the biſhop "have a little houſe, not far from the church, hum-"ble furniture, and a frugal table, and let him en-"deavour to acquire dignity by virtue and good "works."

† Εἰ γε οὐσίαν μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ῥάκη τε καὶ βιβλία ὀλίγα.' "If I "have but little ſubſtance and few books" Sozom. l. vi. c. 16. St. Baſil was in this reſpect, what the latter kings of Cappadocia were, of whom Horace ſaid: 'Mancipiis locuples æget æris Cappadocum "rex.' "The king of Cappadocia, rich in ſlaves, "with little money."

‡ Theſe diſtinctions put us in mind of the country

a diſtance from each other, extinguiſh that emulation to which the church has, in all ages and countries, been indebted for the prelates, who edified, inſtructed, or defended it. An eaſy intercourſe between the two orders baniſhes all affected manners and tone of ſuperiority, as well as that haughtineſs natural to men who think themſelves born to exerciſe an unbounded ſway over their ſlaves.

The hiſtorian of the univerſity of Oxford obſerves, with regard to the famous George Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he was ſo harſh to the inferior clergy, as to make them all his enemies. This ſeverity, adds the hiſtorian, had its ſource in the ſudden promotion of Abbot, who, not having paſſed through the lower benefices with cure of ſouls, did not know how great a work it is to ſuperintend a flock, and what indulgence is due to faults, which, in a buſineſs of ſuch importance, muſt eſcape the beſt meaning men.

try of Papefiguire, where the lord ſays to his vaſſal, with a great deal of ſtately gravity:

'Va, fais vite et travaille,
'Manant, travaille, et traville, vilain:
'Travailler eſt le fait de la canaille.
'Ne t'attends pas que je t'aide un ſeul brin,
'Ne que par moi ton labeur ſe conſomme.
'Je t'ai ja dit que j'etois gentilhomme,
'Ne pour chommer et pour ne rien ſavoir.

"Go, be expeditious; work, you dog; work, "you rogue: to toil and labour is the buſineſs of "the rabble. Do not expect, that I ſhall give you "the leaſt aſſiſtance, nor that your work ſhall be "forwarded by me. I have already told you, that "I was a gentleman, born to keep holiday, and live "in ignorance and idleneſs."

Learning

Learning and merits; altogether foreign to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, have often in England procured firſt-rate benefices to men, who have filled them with diſtinction. Seth Ward made himſelf known only by a few treatiſes of aſtronomy, when in 1662 he was nominated to the biſhoprick of Exeter: he died in 1689 biſhop of Saliſbury, and chancellor of the order of the garter. Dr. Samuel Clarke had publiſhed in 1697, an Engliſh tranſlation of Rohault's phyſicks; and in 1707, at the deſire of Sir Iſaac Newton, a Latin tranſlation of Newton's opticks: theſe tranſlations, which are in high eſteem among the Engliſh, procured him the rectorſhip of St. James's, which he held many years.

Francis the firſt and Henry the ſecond had, in France, obſerved the ſame method in the diſtribution of benefices, and it greatly contributed to the ſplendor of their reigns. Peter du Chaſtel owed, to his extenſive knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, the biſhoprics of Tulles, of Macon and of Orleans, which he held ſucceſſively, and finally the dignity of Great Almoner. Primatice, who firſt introduced the art of painting into France, was recompenſed with the Abbey of St. Martin-es-Aires de Troyes. Philibert de Lorme, to whom French architecture is indebted for its moſt elegant ornaments, poſſeſſed the united abbies of St. Eloi de Noyon, and St. Sere of Angers. Amyot owed the abbey of Beloſanne to Daphnis and Chloe, as alſo to Theagenes and Chariclea, which he had publiſhed in French: his tranſlation of Plutarch's works procured him the abbey of St. Cornelius of Compiegne, the biſhopric of Auxerre, and the dignity of Great Almoner

moner of France. The men whom I have above mentioned, were indebted to their works for their temporal ſucceſs; and their names are, to this day, the chief ornaments in the liſts of abbots and biſhops, among whom they made ſo ſhining a figure.

In the diſtribution of great benefices, the court of England begins now to ſhew a regard for birth, which will ſoon outweigh all other conſiderations.

The biſhops, under the denomination of ſpiritual lords, have preſerved the right of ſitting in the upper houſe of Parliament, where they are placed on the right ſide of the throne; but ſcarce is their opinion aſked: they always vote with the court; whether it be that the lives which ſome of them have led at the univerſities, at ſchools, and in libraries, have made them but little acquainted with affairs of ſtate and political diſcuſſions, or that they are apprehenſive of riſking the dignity of their characters, by entering into theſe debates, which are often carried on with great warmth.

The biſhops choſen from noble families, whoſe views and intereſts they will eſpouſe for many reaſons, will no longer have that docility, which is, perhaps, the moſt important point that the Engliſh government has gained by the Reformation *.

The

* The ſagacious Henry the Seventh obſerved this rule, in nominating perſons to the firſt preferments in the Church: in France it was likewiſe obſerved by cardinal Richlieu: under pretext of preferring merit to birth, he provided the Gallican church with prelates as much diſtinguiſhed by their learning and piety, as little formidable to the miniſtry

The troubles raiſed in ancient days in England by the refractorineſs of the biſhops, were generally owing to the blind ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh prelates to the court of Rome. The firſt ſtep taken by Thomas a Becket when raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, was a prelude, to the meaſures he purſued during the remainder of his life: he wanted to hold of the pope the archbiſhopric, which he owed to his ſovereign's friendſhip *.

At extraordinary meetings of parliament, ſuch for example, as that for the trial of lord Byron, the biſhops, to make an equal figure with the lords temporal, who are then dreſſed out in long robes lined with ermine, appear in their doctors gowns, which are likewiſe robes of ſcarlet. The

try by their family-connections. Such were the Vialarts, the Chotarts, the Cornulliers, the Gauls, the Arnauds, the Malliers, the Legras, the Pavillons, &c. The cardinal, doubtleſs, had not foreſeen the affairs of the formulary and the regale, in which moſt of theſe prelates diſcovered an obſtinacy, which the miniſtry would not have met with in biſhops devoted to the court.

* ' Pontificatum minùs ſincerè et canonicè, id eſt, ' per ſceptrum manumque regiam ſuſceptum, pungen- ' tis conſcientiæ ſtimulos non ferens, ſecreto in ma- ' nus domini papæ reſignavit, qui factum approbans, ' paſtoralem illi ſarcinam eccleſiaſticâ manu rurſus ' impoſuit, et turbatæ conſcientiæ læſionem ſanavit. ' Guil. Neubr. l. ii. cap. 16. " Not being able to bear " the reproaches of his conſcience, he reſigned the " epiſcopal dignity, which he had acquired by the " king's favour and authority, into the hands of the " pope, who, approving of the action, again conferred " the epiſcopal dignity upon him, and healed his " wounded conſcience with a paternal hand."

cap

cap which they wear with this dreſs, is of a very odd form: it is a covering that envelopes the whole head; and upon this is fixed a four-cornered hat, quite flat. Wickliff and Calvin are generally repreſented with a cap of this ſort. At the ordinary meetings of parliament, the biſhops wear, over the gown and caſſock, their rochet or lawn ſleeves, which doubling, as it were, their bulk, ſupply the place of the diſtinctions of the ſhort cloak and pectoral croſs worn by our prelates.

Every body knows that theſe biſhops are nominated by the king, who has the ſupreme right of patronage to the church. Their heirs are obliged to bear, on account of reparations, all the chicanery which obtains in France, and which, generally ſpeaking, determines the heirs of thoſe who have great benefices, to renounce their ſucceſſion: this is the harder upon the Engliſh, as the heirs to moſt biſhops are their own children. The Engliſh prelates pay the king the ſame dues which the Gallican prelates pay the pope under the name of annates. The product of theſe dues is applied to the building of new churches, and to the ſupport of the indigent curates. With regard to taxes, the Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, who enjoy no exemptions nor immunities, contribute to them as well as freeholders; and the beneficed clergy, as well as freeholders; have votes at elections for members of parliament. The Engliſh biſhops are, for the moſt part, married, and being often choſen out of the nobility, are obliged as well by their birth as dignity to make a figure. The archbiſhop of Canterbury *, continuing to lead

* The late Dr. Secker. T.

a ſort

a ſort of collegiate life, has declined marrying. He every Sunday gives a dinner at Lambeth, of thirty covers, to the clergy, gentlemen from the univerſities, and others: a diſtinguiſhed joint ſerved up at this entertainment, is the ſurloin of beef.

Lambeth, which is very agreeably ſituated upon the Thames oppoſite to Weſtminſter is the uſual reſidence of the archbiſhops of Canterbury; the affairs belonging to their juriſdiction as primates, engage more of their time than the buſineſs of the archiepiſcopal ſee. They are the popes of England: the baſis of their authority is the title of delegates of the holy ſee, which they obtained from Rome, and continued to enjoy till the Reformation.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary that the Reformation ſhould have left their juriſdiction untouched; it is ſtill the ſame with that which was enjoyed by the eccleſiaſtical courts of France, before our kings had reſumed the rights which thoſe courts had uſurped.

Till the reign of the laſt of the Edwards, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was generally appointed lord chancellor; the kings of England, till then, making it a rule to chuſe their chancellor conſtantly out of the epiſcopal order. Notwithſtanding their ſacred character, and the engagements of their ſtation, theſe prelatical chancellors were often ſtern, ſanguinary men. Such was Morton, who, being intruſted with the ſeals during the whole reign of Henry the ſeventh, took the moſt violent reſolutions, and was always for the moſt rigid meaſures. If the ambition of theſe archbiſhops was not ſatisfied, or if the court confined them to the care of their flocks, they ſoon ſhewed themſelves at the heads

of factions, cabals, and tumultuous ſeditions. Such was the character of the archbiſhop Thomas Arundel, whoſe ambitious views were diſappointed by Richard the ſecond. He became the chief inſtrument in bringing about the abdication, dethroning, and violent death of that unhappy prince. That prelate, by placing the duke of Lancaſter upon the throne, gave occaſion to all the carnage and horrors of thoſe dreadful civil wars, which, during near ſeventy years, overwhelmed England with blood and ſlaughter. "The archbiſhop of Canterbury," ſays father Orleans *, "appeared in other reſpects to be endowed with great virtues; but his ſubſequent conduct made it manifeſtly appear that the king had reaſon to diſtruſt him; and that, with all theſe external marks of extraordinary virtues, he was at the bottom capable of the greateſt of crimes."

By the ſchiſm of the Engliſh, the archbiſhop of Canterbury became, in fact, what he before was only in title, *alterius orbis papa*, "the pope of another world." In the former ſtate he was the ſecond perſon in the kingdom; he ranked next to the princes of the royal family; he had the right of coining money, and that of being the only judge of a multitude of vaſſals who were his immediate dependants; in fine, all his lands were exempt both from the king's juriſdiction and that of the chancellor. The occaſion which Henry the eighth had for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, induced him to continue all thoſe privileges, which the popes had granted him or obtained in his favour.

He has a court or tribunal, held in a place, which goes by the name of Doctors-commons.

* Hiſtory of the Revolutions of England, book v.

The

The origin of this appellation reaches as far back as the age when the clerical privilege was erected into a common right upon the authority of falſe decretals. The diſtinction between the *common offence* and the *privileged caſe*, in our criminal procedure, has its ſource in the ſame abuſe, which Thomas a Becket was bent upon maintaining at the hazard of his life, and which has ſince been attacked in France in ſo lively a manner, but to ſo little purpoſe, by the celebrated Peter de Cugnieres and ſome other bold authors.

The clerical privilege, or benefit of clergy, is not in England confined to eccleſiaſtics alone; it extends even to laymen, who plead it when brought to a trial for any ſort of crime, except wilful and premeditated murder. To be admitted to plead this benefit, a culprit ſhould be able to read a page in the Bible: If the priſoner is able to ſtand this teſt, which is almoſt always the caſe, the offence being within the ſtatute, he is burned in the hand with a red-hot iron, and then conſigned over to the eccleſiaſtical judge, that is to ſay, abſolved from all puniſhment, excepting only certain canonical penances. The origin of this privilege, called by the Engliſh *benefit of clergy*, is very ancient *: it reaches up to thoſe ages of darkneſs, in which eccleſiaſtics, being entirely exempt from ſecular juriſdiction, were not liable to any corporal pu-

* In the 38th chapter of the rule of St. Benedict, it is enjoined the monk, who reads in the refectory, to begin with a public prayer, to requeſt that God would vouchſafe to preſerve him from that vanity, to which his being able to read might expoſe him. This proves how rare men of learning were in thoſe days even in the neighbourhood of Rome itſelf.

niſhment, whatever crimes they might have committed.

Henry the ſeventh, a prince of great wiſdom, was the firſt that thought of reſuming his authority over that part of his ſubjects: by an act of parliament in the year 1489, he ordained that every eccleſiaſtic, convicted of a capital crime, ſhould be burned in the hand before he was conſigned over to the eccleſiaſtical judge. This law, which, as I have already obſerved, is put in execution to this day, was one of the motives which the counterfeit duke of York afterwards alledged, for his revolt againſt Henry the ſeventh: he, in his manifeſto, ſpoke of it as an open violation of the priveleges of the church *.

The benefit of clergy was intended as a ſort of encouragement to laymen, to learn to read, and thereby emerge out of the profound ignorance in which they were then immerſed. Though the end for which it was ordained has long ſince ceaſed, the cuſtom is ſtill retained, both through love for humanity, and to leave judges, who have duly conſidered the crime, the means of ſaving the culprit from the rigour of the laws whoſe ſeverity admits of no mitigation.

The proof of wills is an affair that belongs to *Doctors-commons*, as does likewiſe the getting them put into execution afterwards, and the diſputes concerning ſucceſſions of moveables *ab inteſtat:* the origin of this right reaches to the ages in which all the biſhops of Europe received, by their deligates and notaries, the wills of every body in their dioceſes, which were to contain diſpoſitions in favour of the church, upon pain of being declared null and void, beſides the pri-

* See lord Bacon's Life of Henry the Seventh.

vation

vation of chriſtian burial to thoſe who died inteſtate. This privilege of the Engliſh clergy, makes a part of the moſt ſacred rights of the nation, which are contained in Magna Charta *.

At the time that this charter was granted, there were no notaries in Europe, but thoſe appointed by the biſhops. The biſhop of Paris had then a hundred notaries or ſworn clerks in his office †. Lewis the Gros and Philip Auguſtus with difficulty prevailed, by threats and all the efforts they could make, to be admitted as aſſociates in the juriſdiction which thoſe prelates exerciſed over their ſubjects and over their officers themſelves. There is ſtill extant a monument of the accommodation or treaty of peace concluded, with regard to theſe affairs, between the biſhop of Paris and king Philip Auguſtus ‡, on the gate of Fort l'eveque at Paris, at the ſide towards the ſtreet of St. Germain. The pediment of this gate, erected in the fourteenth century, ſupports the figures in baſſo relievo, of a biſhop and a king kneeling at the feet of the Bleſſed Virgin. The biſhop has his right hand upon the king; and the arms of France, which

* 'Si aliquis liber homo inteſtatus deceſſerit, ca-
'talla ſua (his chattels, his goods,) per manus pro-
'pinquorum et parentum ſuorum, per viſum eccle-
'ſiæ, diſtribunatur ſalvis debitis. "If any freeman
"dies inteſtate, let his goods and chattels be diſtri-
"buted by the hands of his friends and relations, in
"ſuch manner as is agreeable to the church, with-
"out injuring his creditors."

† Hiſtory of the dioceſe of Paris, by the abbé Le Bœuf, tom. ii. c. 2.

‡ See this treaty in Gallia Chriſtiana, tom. vii. col. 94. It was concluded at Giſors, in 1218.

are at their feet, conſiſting of a vaſt many flower-de-luces, are croſſed by a croſier, which ſtands erect, by way of eminence. Noblemen of the firſt diſtinction aſſumed the honourable title of bailiff of a court that rivalled the king's juriſdiction, and to which it was ſuperior in many reſpects: they reckon amongſt the bailiffs the Bethunes, the de Marles, &c. Theſe noblemen thought it an honour to carry the biſhops to be interred. See the article *Government*.

In the following centuries the authority of the popes, grafted upon that of the biſhops, filled France and England with *apoſtolical notaries*, who afterwards added to this title that of *imperial* *. Were they immediately nominated for by the emperor? Or were they appointed for by the pope alone, as well in his name as in that of the emperor? Contemporary monuments afford us no lights with regard to theſe facts, which are the more ſurprizing, as it is leſs probable that the kings of France and England could have ſo far forgot the rights of their crown, as to tolerate in their dominions and under their eyes public officers, who had received their patents from foreign powers, their rivals, and often their enemies. According to the regiſter of the court of chancery of the empire, the patent that was made out for the imperial notary contained an oath of allegiance to the emperor: 'recepto juramento fidelitatis—'ad honorem et fidelitatem noſtram,' "having "received his oath of allegiance—to honour "and be faithful to us." Theſe words are to

* Our money was likewiſe, till the reign of Francis the Firſt, coined by perſons, who took the oath of allegiance to the emperor. See the treatiſes upon coins, and Menagiana, tom. iv. p. 192.

be

be found in a model of theſe patents, inſerted amongſt the letters of the celebrated Peter de Vignes, chancellor to Frederick II.

It ſhould, at the ſame time, be obſerved, that the appointing theſe notaries with a double title, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was, perhaps, only one of the expedients, which the popes of Avignon had recourſe to, for laying Europe under contribution: in the patents, they added the imperial to the pontifical authority, in conſequence of the claims which they laid to the former. On one hand, this enterprize was little intereſting to the emperors, whoſe prerogative it even appeared to extend; on the other, the kings of France and England, doubtleſs, ſaw nothing in it but an affair purely relative to the finances. It is true, the apoſtolical ſeal, in ſome meaſure, conferred juriſdiction; but the eccleſiaſtical courts were then the tribunals moſt reſorted to, on account of the ignorance of the laity. From what they are at preſent, we may form a judgment of what they muſt have been in the times of ignorance and barbariſm, when ſubjected to the yoke of ſecular authority.

Though, by an edict of the year 1490, Charles the VIIIth had forbid the paſſing of any edict by imperial, apoſtolical and epiſcopal notaries, in temporal affairs, upon pain of the ſaid inſtrument's being rejected and held null and void, the abuſe continued to prevail: I myſelf ſaw an act of 1495, received by an apoſtolical and imperial notary, in a province not far diſtant from Paris. The ſame abuſe prevailed in England till the reign of Henry VII.

The proving of teſtamentary diſpoſitions, a formality unknown in France, is ſtill performed

in England, by preſenting the will in the court of the primate, and ſwearing that it is the will of the perſon whoſe name is to it. By retaining this formality and its concomitant circumſtances, England has, at leaſt, ſaved the exorbitant fees which, before the Reformation, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, by means of his doctors, levied whenever any inſtrument was to be proved: fees that repreſented the legacies, which teſtators were in ancient days obliged to leave the church.

I have ſeen this ceremony performed; it is done in the ſame manner that oaths are taken in all the courts of juſtice in England, by kiſſing a little Bible, which for that purpoſe, lies conſtantly upon a table in the office. Quakers likewiſe performed this ceremony; but they were excuſed from taking an oath, on account of their principles, upon condition of ſimply affirming, inſtead of ſwearing to the fact, and paying half a crown for the diſpenſation.

In Doctors-commons, cognizance is likewiſe taken of marriages, promiſes of marriage *, and even of contracts which ſettle the conditions of them, at leaſt with regard to the manner of diſpoſing of moveable effects. They, by appeal, take cognizance of the deciſions of the eccleſiaſtical judges within the extent of the primacy of Canterbury; and from their judgements, there lies an appeal to a committee formed for this purpoſe in the upper houſe of parlia-

* If a man has made a general promiſe to marry any particular perſon, he is not at liberty to marry another; but the time is left to his own diſcretion: which generally renders the promiſe deluſive, and of no effect. But if the man has fixed a certain day for his marriage, he is ſure of being caſt.

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ment. Their method of proceeding has retained all the ancient forms, which render it equally tedious and expenſive.

They have their court, their apartment, and a library belonging to their ſociety, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's. Their library contains all the canoniſts ancient and modern: Sanchez is at the head of thoſe who have treated of marriage. I was the more ſurprized at not finding the works of the celebrated Van Eſpen, as the principles which he has proceeded upon, in many reſpects, come near to thoſe of the Engliſh civilians. I had beſides ſeen his works in the ſhops of ſeveral of the London Bookſellers. I mentioned them to the librarian, who requeſted me to write the title down in the catalogue; and have been ſince informed, that Van Eſpen, being one of the moſt ſtrenuous of the canoniſts in oppoſing the counterfeit decretals and the juriſdiction built on that foundation, it was no wonder his works ſhould be excluded the library of a tribunal, which owes its exiſtence to thoſe falſe decretals.

The juriſdiction of the primate and the biſhops of England had, as in France, the name of Chriſtianity: a name which the Engliſh extended to whatever concerned the poſſeſſions, the rights, the privileges, the claims and pretenſions of the clergy and monks, whom William of Newberry *, who was himſelf a monk, called 'Chriſtianos philoſophantes †.'

* See Du Cange, at the word Chriſtianus. The writings and records of the Engliſh have furniſhed him with examples of this name's being extended to all the objects above mentioned.

† Book iii. cap 5. In France and England the vine-

yard

Lambeth, the biſhop of Canterbury's place of reſidence, has ſome good houſes, with agreeable walks upon the banks of the Thames, a well-built church, and a private chapel: in a word, every circumſtance there ſhews it to be the palace of a great perſonage *.

The archbiſhop has a conſiderable library, which belongs to his ſee, and which his predeceſſors, for a century paſt, have been continually increaſing. It contained a great number of manuſcripts, which were plundered and deſtroyed by the adherents of Cromwell, who took all books in Gothic characters for miſſals and breviaries, and, conſidering them only as ornaments of the Roman proſtitute, deſtroyed them through a principal of religion. Pictures † and painted glaſs

yard of a curate or prior was diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of their neighbours, by the title of the vineyard of Chriſtianity.

* Thoſe that are but moderately verſed in the hiſtory of England know, what part has been always played there by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, whoſe ambitious rivalſhip has often excited diſturbances in the ſtate. We meet with intereſting accounts of theſe affairs in the hiſtory of William of Newbury, who deſcribes the conduct of thoſe prelates in the twelfth century in theſe terms. 'Apoſtolica regula à noſtri temporis epiſcopis ita eſt 'abrogata, ut ſolicitudine paſtorali poſtpoſitâ, quanto pervicaciùs tanto et vaniùs de excellentia litigent, 'et omnis fere epiſcopalis cura circà bonorum prærogativum verſetur. l. iii. c. 1. "The apoſtolical rule has been in ſuch a manner aboliſhed by "the biſhops of the preſent age, that, having laid "aſide all care of their paſtoral functions, they as "obſtinately as vainly wrangle concerning precedency, and almoſt all their epiſcopal care is exerted "about their prorogatives."

† Cromwell was true to the ſpirit of his party, in his

glaſs were compriſed in this proſcription; they broke them to pieces wherever they had made themſelves maſters. The chapel at Lincoln's-Inn is the only place where I have ſeen ſuch windows entire and well preſerved; but I was given to underſtand, that, before thoſe of Cromwell's party had poſſeſſed themſelves of London, the benchers of this Inn had taken care to remove them into a place of ſafety. They were afterwards reſtored with Charles II. 'Tis, doubtleſs, the ſame care, which has preſerved the ſmall number of manuſcripts ſtill poſſeſt by the library at Lambeth.

The moſt important are, a continued ſeries of the regiſters, which contain all the acts of the archiepiſcopal and primatical juriſdiction of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, ever ſince the year 1272. Perhaps there is not a church in Europe poſſeſſed of ſo ancient and compleat a collection of this ſort.

Amongſt other manuſcripts, which are but of little importance, I took notice of two miſſals. The firſt, which is dated 1415, was made for

his hatred to painting, and the polite arts. He ſold the collection, which James the Firſt and Charles the Firſt had made of the fineſt pieces, of the Italian and Flemiſh ſchools, which were in their moſt flouriſhing ſtate in the reigns of thoſe princes. Cardinal Mazarin purchaſed for the king, and for himſelf, ſeveral maſter-pieces, the price of which was regulated by the little knowledge that Cromwell had of their merit. It was by means of this acquiſition, that the celebrated picture of the labours of Herculus by Guido, has been admitted into the king's collection.

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the chapel of king Henry V. with a magnificence anſwerable to that deſtination. It is filled with all the ornaments which painting is capable of exhibiting; all the margins are adorned with flouriſhings and groteſque figures, drawn in the niceſt manner imaginable, in colours of the livelieſt hue. The moſt extraordinary of theſe groteſque figures, both for the idea and the place which it occupies, preſents to the view 'humani corporis poſteriora,' placed between a head and two legs. This odd figure is exactly at the bottom of the firſt page of the canon, at which the maſs-book was opened, when it was carried to be kiſſed according to the Roman liturgy. The calendar of this miſſal is in French: which ſeems to ſhew it to be the work of ſome French artiſt.

The other miſſal was written in 1584, for one Laubepine, biſhop of Limoges, whoſe arms adorn the frontiſpiece. All the holidays of the ſecond order, are marked in rubrick characters in the moſt diſtinct manner, and without any ſort of abbreviation, by the word 'Prindas;' which is neither Engliſh, French nor Latin.

Amongſt the moſt valuable of theſe manuſcripts is kept, with particular care, an imperfect copy of M. de Meaux' 'Expoſition,' ſimilar, as we are told, to that which this prelate cauſed to be made for M. de Turenne, before he had put the laſt hand to that work. The value of this copy conſiſts in differences of the higheſt importance relative to the ſeveral articles which have been altered, extended and abridged in the firſt edition of 1671. M. Allix, a diſſenting miniſter, has written, with his own hand oppoſite to each of theſe articles, ſucceeding

ing additions, defalcations and changes. We read at the head of this book, a ſort of verbal proceſs drawn up by this miniſter, and ſealed with his own ſeal, in which he atteſts the exact conformity of this copy with that of the marſhal de Turenne, both in the printed part, and in the two laſt leaves which were added in writing.

Theſe changes, which are looked upon as important, were the foundation of a work that an Engliſh divine publiſhed at London, in 1686, againſt the 'Expoſition.' M. Boſſuet thought it his duty to anſwer this work: which he did at the end of his ſixth animadverſion upon M. Jurieu, publiſhed in 1692.

Upon examining the copy in the Lambeth library with the utmoſt attention, I could not but think, that the characters had neither that diſtinctneſs, nor the paper that firmneſs, for which books that came out of the Cramoiſi preſs were remarkable; but, according to M. Boſſuet himſelf, theſe were only waſte ſheets, for which any ſort of paper was good enough; and it is well known; how great influence the choice of paper has upon the clearneſs of types.

This difficulty with regard to the form, and that which ariſes from it with reſpect to the paper, are eaſily removed, by comparing the copy of Lambeth with that of Marſhal Turenne; if it be true, as I was aſſured by the library-keeper, that the latter is ſtill extant in the library of the hotel de Bouillon.

A great gallery of the palace of Lambeth, contains all the pictures, at full length, of the ſeveral biſhops, who ſince the Reformation, have poſſeſſed the ſee of Canterbury, and of ſome prelate whoſe talents have done an honour to the

Engliſh

Engliſh clergy *. To theſe are joined certain ancient portraits, amongſt which one, which is the work of Holbein, deſerves particular notice: it is the picture of an archbiſhop contemporary to the painter: though the features are ſhocking there is ſomething very expreſſive in the phyſiognomy.

Amongſt the modern portraits, that of Dr. Burnet is one which beſt of all exhibits a countenance as noble and pleaſing, as the works of that celebrated writer are the reverſe. The Memoirs of John Macky contain certain anecdotes of that perſonage, whoſe character was an odd mixture of violence and complaiſance, which he made alternately ſubſervient to promoting his fortune. He was concerned in all the great changes, and had a hand in all the intrigues, which agitated England from the year 1680 till his death. Ever varying his principles according to circumſtances, he was unſhaken in nothing but his hatred to the houſe of Stuart. This hatred it was that excited king William to promote him to the epiſcopal dignity and to confer on him the place of chancellor of the order of the garter, and that of preceptor to the duke or Glouceſter. He was afterwards as warm a partiſan of the houſe of Hanover, as he had been of the prince of Orange; but death did not give him time to reap the fruits of this new attachment.

In the Memoirs juſt cited, we meet with two conſultations of this doctor, which afford the

* I was indebted for the ſight and examination of the curioſities at Lambeth, to Dr Ducarel, Fellow of the ſociety of Antiquaries, author of ſome works replete with erudition, and commiſſary of the city and dioceſe of Canterbury.

moſt

moſt extraordinary proofs of his talent at ſuiting his principles to the times and occurrences. The barrenneſs of the queen conſort to Charles the Second, gave occaſion to theſe conſultations, which have all the authenticity that can be deſired in acts of this nature. In the firſt he laid it down as a maxim, that 'barrenneſs in a wife is 'a juſt cauſe of divorce;' and in the ſecond he maintains, that even 'under the goſpel diſpenſa-'tion, there are certain caſes which may juſtify 'polygamy.' Yet the doctrine diſplayed in theſe conſultations, by a divine who had acquired a reputation for rigid virtue, had no effect upon the principles of honour, which reigned in the ſoul of a prince the moſt ſenſual and voluptuous of the age in which he lived *.

A chaplainſhip to a nobleman of the Hamilton family, was Dr. Burnet's firſt ſtep to fortune. He, in ſecret, won the heart and received the hand of a niece of the chief perſon of that family, lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the earl of Caſſils. His marriage being diſcovered in Scotland, he fled with his wife to England, and joined with the party oppoſite to that of the duke of York, of which the Hamiltons were the chief ſupport in Scotland. The enmity of that houſe purſued him to England, where he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to acquire a name in the anti-royal party. Being compelled to leave England, he traverſed France, Italy, and Germany, from whence he went to the prince of Orange, at the Hague, whoſe fortunes he followed, and whom he ſerved with all the ar-

* 'Sanctiores erant aures principis quàm corda ſa-'cerdotum.' "The ears of princes were more reli-"gious than the hearts of prieſts."

dour

dour of a ringleader of a party; the prince ſhewed his gratitude, by procuring for the doctor, at the death of his firſt wife, (who, hot chuſing to follow her huſband in his peregrinations, ſtayed behind him in England) a Dutch heireſs in marriage; by this lady he had ſeven children, five of whom ſurvived their father. Upon the death of this ſecond wife, he married a rich widow of the name of Berkely.

It was not his fault that his patron and benefactor, who was looked upon by ſome as conqueror of England, did not ſeize upon all the prerogatives which flow from the right of conqueſt, and which had been ſo fatal to the nation under William the Baſtard. With a view of promoting this deſign of the prince of Orange, Burnet publiſhed a paſtoral letter, which was condemned to the flames by the Houſe of Commons. His laſt work was a virulent invective againſt the peace of Utrecht and the Pretender, from whoſe reſentment he would have had everything to fear in caſe queen Anne had called the exiled family to the throne.

The chancel of St. James's church Clerkenwell, where he was buried in 1715, is adorned with a long Latin epitaph *, which praiſes him as 'Libertatis, patriæ, veræque religionis ſtre-

* On the other ſide of this chancel we meet with the epitaph of one La Rochefoucauld, who, perſevering in the faith, which his whole family embraced in the ſixteenth century, had followed the prince of Orange to England, and ſignalized himſelf in his ſervice; and that in a ſtation ſuited to his birth. He was afterwards honoured with an Engliſh title, which I have forgotten, as well as the time of his death, which happened lately, and in a very advanced age.

'nuum

'nuum ſemperque indefeſſum propugnatorem,
'tyrannidi & ſuperſtitioni perpetuò infenſum.'
"The ſtrenuous and unwearied defender of li-
"berty, his country, and true religion, and
"the eternal enemy of tyranny and ſuperſtiti-
"on."

Whilſt I was in London, died a ſon of biſhop Burnet: I had been informed that he was juſt come from Paris, where, in quality of Commiſſioner of the Court of Seſſion at Edinburgh, he had juſt finiſhed a judicial enquiry, which was to be made uſe of in the cauſe depending ſome years between the families of Douglas and Hamilton.

In collecting theſe particulars of Dr. Burnet, I have followed the ſame method which I have obſerved with regard to other celebrated writers. Theſe anecdotes throw a light upon their works, and contribute to render them intereſting to their readers when they would not have been ſo of themſelves. To peruſe them with this aſſiſtance, is as different from reading them without it, as the converſation of an acquaintance differs from that of a man we have no knowledge of.

The church of England is, at preſent, very far from being actuated by thoſe narrow principles which ſelf-intereſt dictated to Dr. Burnet. If we except a few biſhops, who ſometimes, but to very little purpoſe, affect qualms of conſcience, the Engliſh clergy behave to the diſſenters with that noble confidence, with which every rational body of men is inſpired by acknowledged ſuperiority: they would, however, be glad that all Proteſtant diſſenters would be ſatisfied to ſay their prayers in private: they eſteem ſome individuals amongſt the Catholics, but they have very

very little regard for the body in general: not that they think them the authors of the fire of London, of the gunpowder plot, nor of all the other conſpiracies which have been imputed to theſe people; they leave ſuch opinions to the vulgar.

But how can the populace avoid believing theſe ſtories? The inſcription on the Monument erected immediately after the great fire of London declares, in expreſs terms, that this fire was the work of Popiſh fury. James the Second had cauſed that part of the inſcription to be effaced: but the prince of Orange took care to have it reſtored. With regard to the gunpowder treaſon, it has given riſe to an annual ſolemnity, in which thanks are returned to Almighty God for the happy diſcovery of that plot; and in the form of prayer made uſe of upon that occaſion, every circumſtance of it is laid to the charge of the Papiſts.

The Engliſh clergy are very tractable with regard to ſeveral articles in which all Chriſtian communions are agreed: if, when the liturgy was compiled, they had thought as they now do for the moſt part, it ſeems doubtful whether the Athanaſian creed would hold the place, which it has at preſent, in the body of that liturgy. With regard to the puniſhments of a future ſtate; whilſt, with Zuinglius, they limit their duration, they have nothing left but the ſame purgatory which furniſhed the firſt reformers with their principal topics of declamation againſt the church of Rome. Who ever went to the other world to ſee? was the anſwer made me by a grave divine, whom I queſtioned concerning the preſent ſtate of that queſtion.

Free-

Free-thinking, the laſt refuge of minds tired out with religious wars, and the revolutions to which they give riſe, has, by inſenſible degrees, gained ground amongſt the Engliſh, and even amongſt the clergy themſelves.

Charles the Second, either through a ſecret attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, or through views meerly political, favoured this turn of his ſubjects *. James the Seeond, with a view of encouraging the Roman Catholics, did all he could for the Non-conformiſts, amongſt the multitude of whom the Latitudinarians eſcaped notice. King William, upon his acceſſion to the throne, did nothing for the ſect which had raiſed him to it: the Shafteſburys and moſt of thoſe who had the chief hand in bringing about the Revolution, which had placed upon his head a father-in-laws's crown, thought very freely upon the ſubject of religion.

The Latitudinarians fancied they might avail themſelves of this toleration, to divulge their dogmas upon religious ſubjects. In 1696 John Toland publiſhed his 'Chriſtianity not myſte-'rious;' a work by which he propoſed to demonſtrate that the 'doctrines of the Chriſtian 'religion are not properly myſterious:' a work which, as ſoon as ever it appeared, was condemned to be publicly burned in Dublin. Toland, having fallen under the cenſure of the

* Conſtantine did the ſame, in his firſt edicts in favour of the Chriſtian religion. Theſe edicts offered civil liberty to men of all perſuaſions, and of all ſects. See John Baudouin's commentary: 'Ad 'edicta veterum principium Rom. de Chriſtianis, Baſil. 1557; and another treatiſe, by the ſame author, entitled 'Conſtantinus Magnus.'

ſame

ſame tribunal by which his book was condemned, fled to England, where both the work and author were left unmoleſted.

Encouraged by this kind reception he publiſhed in 1699, the life of Milton; and in ſpeaking of the Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ aſcribed to Charles the Firſt, he inſinuated his doubts concerning the truth and authenticity of the Old and New Teſtament. Several critics having riſen up againſt theſe doubts, Toland, the ſame year, publiſhed an elaborate anſwer of a conſiderable extent, intitled Amyntor.

The inferior clergy of the convocation, which met in 1702, thought it their duty to cenſure theſe heterodox productions. They forthwith laid them before the ſuperior clergy, and excited them to join in branding them, as works of the moſt pernicious tendency. The biſhops thought it incumbent upon them to cauſe the works, which had been thus reported, to be examined; and this examination occaſioned the diſcovery of propoſitions of a much more ſerious nature, than thoſe which the inferior clergy had taken notice of. In a word, the bench of biſhops appeared determined to make theſe books and their author feel the weight of eccleſiaſtical authority.

But what could this authority avail? The biſhops themſelves were ignorant of its extent; therefore, in compliance with the cuſtoms of England, they conſulted the lawyers.

To the firſt queſtion: "Whether it was "contrary to any law, for the convocation or "aſſembly of the clergy to declare a book to "be impious, heretical, and calculated to cor-"rupt the morals of the people." The lawyers made anſwer: That it was. To the ſecond queſtion: "Whether the propoſitions ex-

"tracted

" tracted from the work of Toland contained " ſentiments contrary to any law?" The lawyers made anſwer: That they did not. They added, that in 1689, a book having been reported in the ſame manner, the doctors of canon and civil law had declared the aſſembly of the clergy to be incompetent judges upon ſubjects of ſuch a nature. Being at laſt conſulted with regard to the means of giving vent to their indignation againſt the works which had been reported, the lawyers declared themſelves in the following terms: " The clergy cannot proceed " againſt the works reported, without the ex- " preſs permiſſion of the king: in caſe they pro- " ceed againſt them, they incur the penalties " pronounced by the ſtatute of the 25th of " Henry VIII *; (the ſeizure of their tempo- " ralities.)"

Be that as it will, the permiſſion of the court, which had been judged indiſpenſably neceſſary, either was not applied for, or not granted; and the report had no other effect but to give new importance to the writings reported, and increaſe their reputation.

A long war, and the important buſineſs of the union of the three kingdoms, filled the whole reign of queen Anne, whoſe inclination muſt have led her to favour the toleration, in conſequence of the deſign, which ſhe was ſuppoſed by a great part of the inhabitants of England to entertain, of calling in the pretender.

George the Firſt had reaſons for approving the toleration, diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which had regulated the conduct of his four predeceſ-

* Life of Toland, prefixed to his Works, publiſhed in 1725.

ſors.

ſors. In quality of head of the church of England, he iſſued a proclamation, condemning the publication of Socinian writings, or ſuch as were favourable to the new opinions concerning the Trinity.

The public was diverted with a law made by a prince of the Lutheran perſuaſion, in favour of a religion in which he had not been educated, to deprive others of a liberty in which he indulged himſelf. However, if we may be allowed to judge of this law by the number of heterodox writings which have ſince been publiſhed, and which the preſs renews every year in England, it is to be preſumed that it never was put in execution: the prince, who was author of it, ſhould, doubtleſs, have firſt cauſed its propriety to be aſcertained by the lawyers. This precaution, which the upper houſe of convocation thought neceſſary to enable them to pronounce upon the works reported in 1702, furniſhed new pretexts to the enemies of the church, who publicly accuſed the moſt eminent of the clergy of Socinianiſm.

Though an independent ſpirit be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the Latitudinarians, the kings of England have found amongſt that body ſubjects whoſe fidelity has conſoled them for the envenomed rage of fanaticiſm. Dr. John Hales is a memorable example of this ſort. That doctor, who was a moſt rigid Calviniſt, having aſſiſted at all the meetings of the famous ſynod of Dort, returned from it an Arminian; and having imbibed the principles of the Socinians, he joined the party afterwards called Latitudinarians *.

* The ſame variation of religious tenets appears in the numerous works of Dr. Whitby.

He,

He, notwithſtanding, continued inviolably attached to Charles the Firſt, and that attachment made him ſacrifice places, which it is ſufficient juſt to mention, in order to ſhew the ardour of his zeal for his ſovereign.

He reſigned his canonry of Windſor, and fellowſhip of Eton college. His ſucceſſor in that place having afterwards offered to reſtore it to him, he declined the offer, for fear it ſhould be concluded that he had quitted the royal party.

He had nothing left but a library of well-choſen books: this he ſold, divided the money between ſome of the Royaliſts, who were greatly perſecuted and oppreſſed by the Parliamentarians, and retired to the country, to the widow of one of his ſervants, who lived by her daily labour: at this aſylum he died in 1656, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age *.

One of his quondam pupils embelliſhed his tomb with an epitaph, wherein, after enumerating the facts above related, he declares that his maſter was, ‘ mundo ſublimior, ideòque aptior ‘ angelorum conſortio †,’ “ too ſublime a ge-“ nius for this world, and therefore the fitter “ for the ſociety of angels.”

The tolerating ſpirit of the church of England, with regard to heterodox opinions, does not ſuppoſe any great degree of ardour for the propagation of the faith amongſt the Pagan neighbours of the Engliſh colonies. The miſſionaries deſtined for that end, are under the di-

* The celebrated Dr. Pococke, with the ſame reſolution, bore the like perſecutions in the ſame cauſe.

† See the ſhort account of his life, prefixed to the French tranſlation of his theological tracts, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1730.

rection

rection of a ſociety lately formed, which ſupplies the ſums requiſite for that purpoſe.

A clergyman, by whom I wanted to be informed of the ſtate of theſe miſſions, obſerved to me, that in the church of Rome the propagation of the Chriſtian faith is left to Jeſuits and other Monks, who fly to foreign parts with the greater eagerneſs, as theſe miſſions, whilſt they furniſh them with an opportunity of labouring for the glory of their order, draw particular members of the ſociety out of their cloyſters, reſtore them to the world with ſome diſtinction, and give them a proſpect of acquiring an entire independence, by the hopes of biſhoprics 'in partibus *:' that, the general and particular views of theſe new apoſtles ſufficiently diſcover themſelves by diſturbances, contentions, quarrels, and religious ſchiſms, which give ſuch ſcandal to Pagans, to whom Chriſtianity ſhould be repreſented in no higher light but as religion replete with love and charity: but we think concerning this great work, added the clergyman, in the ſame manner as one of you Frenchmen did, who without belonging to any religious order, went of his own accord amongſt the infidels, with a view of converting them to the Chriſtian faith; at the ſame time, he ſhewed me the printed narrative which this zealot had himſelf publiſhed concerning the efforts he made for the attainment of his end. Theſe are the words of that narrative, which I have faithfully tranſcribed.

"When I was amongſt the infidels, I had "an ardent deſire to convince them that Chriſ- "tianity is the only true religion. I laid be-

*That is, 'in partibus infidelium.' T.

"fore

" fore them the articles of our faith in the ſim-
" pleſt manner I could, and ſome of theſe Ido-
" laters, Atheiſts, and Mahometans appeared
" diſpoſed to receive the grace of faith which
" God gives to whoever he thinks proper. In
" the courſe of this my miſſion, I met with ſe-
" veral of their bonzes, doctors, prieſts, imans,
" talapoins, and philoſophers, who aſked me
" whether mine was the only true religion; I
" proved to them that it was, by the ſcriptures,
" and by the miracles which are therein related
" from Geneſis to the Apocalypſe. But A-
" thieſts turned all I ſaid into jeſt. The Ido-
" laters cited to me the mythologies of their
" poets, and told me a thouſand idle ſtories of
" the metamorphoſes of their gods. The Ma-
" hometans did more; they entered into long
" diſcuſſions upon the Koran, and dwelt upon
" the voyage of their prophet and upon his an-
" gels, who were of ſo prodigious a magni-
" tude, that, to take meaſure of their dimenſi-
" ons, would require travelling for ſeventy thou-
" ſand years. I then proceeded to the miracles
" of our martyrs, but they laughed at my
" proofs; and this convinced me that all the
" methods I took were ineffectual. I wanted
" to demonſtrate the truth of religion to them,
" by hiſtory, antiquities, the fathers of the
" church and the doctors of our univerſities. I
" inſiſted upon the lives of a conſiderable num-
" ber of biſhops who had compoſed books, in
" which they ſpeak of councils and fathers;
" but, in anſwer to all I alledged, they told me
" that their gods were very ancient, and they
" had had in all ages prieſts, bonzes, derviſes,
" talapoins, and other orders; that the Ma-

" hometans had mendicant orders, ſuch as Der-
" viſes, Geomaliers, Cadis, Imans, Santons,
" Alfaquis, Seiks, Hoggis, Murdens, and
" other perſonages, who are held in high eſ-
" teem by the Muſſulmans. I even met with
" perſons with whom I diſputed two whole
" days, and who thought to perſuade me to
" embrace their religion; and, with that view,
" urged arguments taken from the prophet Aly
" and their philoſophers: this wicked purpoſe
" of theirs ſurprized me, as I had croſſed the
" ſeas with no other view but to convert them.
" What amazed me moſt was, that our pre-
" lates, prieſts and monks, reſident amongſt
" thoſe people, did not make them ſenſible of
" the truth of our religion, for freedom of diſ-
" pute is allowed in Perſia, on account of their
" earneſt deſire to convert us to Mahometa-
" niſm: this made me neceſſarily conclude, ei-
" ther that the miſſionaries were very ignorant,
" or that they were rogues and hypocrites."

This account makes part of a printed narrative of eight or ten pages in quarto, publiſhed at Paris in 1666, by one Abbé d'Auberi, with the following title: " To the public, to the ho-
" nour and glory of God, and the exaltation
" of the Holy Virgin and the whole celeſtial
" court—I will begin to blow the trumpet of
" the Goſpel, &c."

The Engliſh regulate their behaviour to the natives of the new world by their principle of toleration. If this had been the maxim of the Spaniards, America would have preſerved its native inhabitants, and its conquerors would have ſpared themſelves the cruelties for which their deſcendants have equal reaſon to complain and be aſhamed, in a word, Sepulveda would not

not have publiſhed a work to apologize to the world for thoſe barbarities *.

Amongſt the French refugees, there are ſome who have united themſelves to the church of England, and adopted its rites and liturgy. I heard divine ſervice in one of the churches which belong to the French of the Engliſh communion: they conform to the liturgy of the church of England in the French language.

It is ſo tedious, that the Roman Catholic ſervice is ſhort in compariſon. "The Engliſh are "fond of long prayers, ſaid queen Elizabeth, "when buſy about preparing a liturgy, let us "humour their taſte." This ſervice is read every day in the cathedrals, college-chapels, and pariſh churches to very thin congregations; when the minor canon or curate acquits himſelf with the ſame air of importance, as that with which our fathers of the oratory repeat their litanies. On Sundays the whole church is filled, and the pſalms are ſung by all the pariſh boys, ſeated upon an amphitheatre which fills, on each ſide, the organ-loft. The Sunday ſervice is followed by a ſermon, at which people have the better opportunities for ſleeping, as each family is ſhut up in a box, called a pew, cloſed on all ſides to the height of four or five feet. Theſe

* The title of this work is, 'Democrates ſecundus: An licet bello Indos proſequi, eis auferendo 'dominia poſſeſſioneſque, et bona temporalia, et occidendo eos, ſi reſiſtentiam oppoſuerint, ut ſic ſpoliati et ſubjecti, faciliùs iis ſuadeatur fides?' "Is "it lawful to oppreſs the Indians, and to harraſs "them by war, depriving them of their dominions, "poſſeſſions, and temporal advantages, that, being "thus ſtript and reduced, it might be the more eaſy "to perſuade them to embrace the faith?"

boxes fill the whole church, excepting three narrow paſſages, one in the middle and the others on the two ſides.

The Engliſh churches, except the cathedral of St. Paul and the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, are moſtly built according to the model of the modern Jewiſh Synagogues. They are great halls with galleries on each ſide. At about two thirds of their breadth ſtands the pulpit, with a deſk underneath, where the clerk ſets the pſalms. The upper end of the hall is occupied by the communion table, which is deſtitute of all ornament, and to which there is ſcarce any honour paid, or any marks of reverence ſhewn even at the time of communion, which is performed with great plates, and cups of ſilver gilt. Upon ſacrament days, that is to ſay, once a month, the table has no other ornament but a linen table-cloth to cover it. Over it are generally to be ſeen the ten commandments, or certain verſes of the New Teſtament, in frames more or leſs adorned with gilding and ſculpture. Old women are charged with the care of the veſtry, and theſe handle all the plate made uſe of at the Lord's ſupper. As I happened one Sunday in the afternoon to paſs by St. Martin's church, near which I lodged, an old woman, who was removing the furniture of the communion-table, accepted of the offer I made her of helping to carry it to the veſtry. Whilſt I was croſſing the balluſtrade, I perceived, about the middle of the bundle, a napkin folded with all the care which our nuns ſhew for their veſtry-linen, and upon this napkin a piece of leavened bread, very flat, and cut into little ſlices about as broad as one's thumb. I was almoſt tempted to taſte of it; but dreading ſome profanation,

and

and not underſtanding the old woman, who, on her ſide, did not underſtand me, I took care to avoid touching it. I afterwards was informed, that this bread was a fragment of that given at the ſacrament.

The Engliſh churches are neither adorned with ſtatues nor paintings. Of all thoſe which I viſited, there is but one at London embelliſhed with the buſts of St. Peter and St. Paul, painted in oval, on both ſides of the communion-table.

Beſides being ornamental, both paintings and ſtatues in churches produce effects, which are not immediately diſcernible, and which, notwithſtanding, are very real, and require ſome attention in the choice of pieces of this ſort. I know in France, a country pariſh that has a conſiderable number of inhabitants. The tutelary ſaint is a great St. Lawrence, with a flat, ſquare head, which ſtands juſt over the high altar. All the peaſants of the village are ſo many copies, that appear to be chalked out according to the image of their patron. This St. Lawrence is to this village, what a vicar is to another, who joins the moſt unblemiſhed character to the moſt agreeable countenance. In the ſpace of twenty years, during which time he has been at the head of this village, the new generation of his pariſhioners no longer reſemble the ancient breed; and the countenances of all the children partake, more or leſs, of the agreeableneſs of that of the paſtor.

Engliſh cleanlineſs is conſpicuous in all their churches: perſons, hired for that purpoſe, are conſtantly buſy in waſhing, ſweeping, cleaning and duſting. The chanting of the Engliſh liturgy is as unmelodious as the ſound of their

bells. Each church has two or three bells of a very inconſiderable ſize, which make nothing but diſſonance when rung at the ſame time, and each of which ſounds falſe when rung by itſelf. I was tormented every Sunday with hearing St. Martin's bell ring early in the morning, almoſt for two hours together; the falſe and hoarſe tone of this bell did not ſuffer me either to ſleep or reſt in my bed *. The few opportunities they have of working, doubtleſs, deprives the Engliſh bell-founders of carrying their art to the ſame degree of perfection to which it has been raiſed in France, and in Germany in particular.

The outſide of the churches of London is as much over-charged with ornaments, as the inſide is deſtitute of them. St. Martin's, which I have juſt been ſpeaking of, may, in this reſpect, vie with the church of the Sorbonne at Paris. It has a great portico, built in the ſame proportion as that of the temple of Minerva at Athens. London has five or ſix churches of this magnificence almoſt uniform; a magnificence perhaps rather extravagant for buildings, neither lofty nor of any conſiderable extent, and under which they ſeem, as it were, to ſink.

Each pariſh has, at its head, a rector, who is, in ſome meaſure, the ſuperintendant of it. His whole labour is reduced to the article of preaching, when he thinks proper: the general buſineſs of the pariſh is left to a ſubordinate mi-

* I have heard it affirmed, that the Carmelite nuns of France are obliged, by their conſtitution, to have in their churches, two bells of oppoſite and jarring tones; this renders their ringing analogous to their chaunting, and is intended as a ſpecies of mortification.

niſter,

niſter, who, with the title of curate, performs the parochial duties, at a fixed ſalary, and reckons with the rector for his dues; the latter allows him ſome inconſiderable perquiſites if he is ſatisfied with his ſervices *.

St. Paul's, Weſtminſter-abbey, and moſt of the Engliſh cathedrals, have retained their chapters. The beneficed clergy of the church of England are computed at 90 deans and archdeacons, 550 prebendaries, and about 20,000 miniſters, who are charged, either as principals or ſubſtitutes, with the care of pariſhes.

The cathedrals and collegiate churches, as likewiſe the abbies, had, before the Reformation, the ſame juriſdiction they have retained in France; and the extent of this juriſdiction was proportioned to the ſervile reſpect of the Engliſh for every thing belonging to the church. Theſe rights of juriſdiction were called liberties; a name to this day retained by the diſtrict of Weſtminſter-abbey, which, at the time of the Reformation, was reduced to a collegiate church. This liberty, perhaps, cauſed the diſtrict of that abbey to be choſen for the ſeſſions of parliament, as a place entirely neutral and exempt from all royal juriſdiction.

The ſame places, as aſylums, were ſecure from that royal juriſdiction, which was there ſet at defiance, by bankrupts, murderers, aſſaſſins, and

* Theſe rectors have often, at the ſame time, ſeveral pariſh churches, with canonries in cathedrals and collegiate churches. This they effect by means of diſpenſations, which are eaſily obtained from the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The re-uniting of theſe incompatible benefices in one perſon, was one of the chief complaints of the Proteſtants againſt the church of Rome; but perſonal intereſt eaſily reconciles all abuſes.

even thoſe who were guilty of high treaſon. At the concluſion of a negotiation as ſecret, as well conducted, Henry the Seventh had obtained leave of Innocent the Eighth, to ſet a guard upon criminals guilty of high treaſon, and to ſeize upon the goods of bankrupts, who had taken refuge in theſe aſylums. That prince had occaſion for all his authority to get this agreement put in execution *: he did not even preſume to avail himſelf of it againſt Perkin, who diſputed the crown with him, and who, after his defeat, had taken refuge in the abbey of Beuley.

Buryings are articles which bring in large fees to the clergy. Theſe fees are the more conſiderable, as in all conditions of life, the magnificence of funerals makes a branch of Engliſh luxury. The dead, who are buried in ſhrouds †, with pillows in their coffin, are carried, in a mourning hearſe, to the pariſh church, where the laſt honours are paid them in a manner proportioned to the expence which the heirs are willing to defray.

I have been told that the precautions neceſſary to be taken in order to ſecure dead bodies from the craving anatomiſts, greatly increaſe the expence, by making it neceſſary to dig graves of an enormous depth: in a word, a bill which I was ſhewn of the expences for burying in a church-yard a child of one of the lower ſort of people, aged three years, amounted to two gui-

* See the Life of Henry the Seventh, by Lord Bacon.

† In virtue of a law, the intent of which was to favour the woollen manufactures, theſe ſhirts, theſe pillows, and every thing made uſe of at funerals, muſt be woollen.

neas.

neas. Chriſtenings are dear in proportion. Marriages are no leſs expenſive: the church of England baptizing all, as I have already obſerved, marrying all, and burying all, without diſtinction of belief or ſect, its fees, for all theſe ceremonies, are a ſort of fine which ſhe obliges diſſenters to pay. Even the Catholics themſelves ſubmit to the payment of this fine: their children can be entitled to nothing without being regiſtered at their pariſh church: With regard to their dead, over whom all the ceremonies of their religion are performed in private, they paſs through the hands of the curate of the pariſh, who, at receiving them, ſays, with John Choart in La Fontaine:

'Monſieur le Mort, laiſſiez nous faire;
'On vous en donnera de touter les facons:
'Il ne s'agit que du ſalaire.'

"Mr. Dead-man, let us do your buſineſs;
"you ſhall be rightly accommodated in every
"ſenſe: all you have to do is to pay well."

The ſervice for the dead is the ſame as the nocturns of the church of Rome. The two or three prayers mixed with them turn entirely upon the mercy of God towards his creatures, and upon the frailty and tranſitorineſs of human things, which a view of death exhibits to the living.

In purſuance of the example ſet by the firſt Reformers, the church of England has ſuppreſſed the ſacrifice and prayers intended to move the divine compaſſion in favour of the dead. They looked upon this ſacrifice and theſe prayers as the conſequence and reſult of that purgatory which they had reſolved to aboliſh; and, in this

reſpect, they thought like the laſt divines of the church of Rome, perhaps without knowing it, certainly without any deſign.

The uſage of the primitive church would have given riſe to a general union of the minds of all men, if it had been judged expedient to revive it. They made a ſacrifice and offering, and communicated for the dead. This practice was in imitation of that of the Jews, the nature of which appears from the hiſtory of the Maccabees and the Miſna, a collection as authentic as valuable, of the political, civil and religious cuſtoms of the Jewiſh nation. In this collection we read, at the word Sanhedrim, that a criminal condemed to death, offered a ſacrifice on the very day of his execution; that he partook of it; and that this was intended as an atonement for his crime: and finally, that if 'he 'was not in circumſtance to offer this ſacrifice, 'another offered it for him *.

This paſſage, if underſtood of thoſe who died in the ordinary courſe of nature, whilſt it explains that in the hiſtory of the Maccabees, ſufficiently accounts for the ſacrifice for the dead, borrowed from the Jews by the primitive Chriſtians, according to the obſervation of the Pſalmiſt: "The dead praiſe thee not, O Lord, nor thoſe who lie in the tomb; but we who are living bleſs thy name †."

This

* This paſſage is cited in the Reflections upon the Chriſtian Religion, tom. ii. p. 72. by Mr. Ferrand, the friend and fellow-ſtudent, in ſome ſort, of the great Boſſuet. See likewiſe the 'Symbolum fidei 'Judæorum,' publiſhed in 1569, by Genebrard.

† See a treatiſe by father Theophilus Raynaud, a jeſuit, 'De communione pro mortuis;' the firſt edition

This fact being acknowledged, there remains no point of diſpute, except concerning the manner of explaining 'pro mortuis.' Some underſtand PRO by INSTEAD, in the place of, 'vice 'mortuorum,' and others, 'for the relief of 'ſouls not yet purified.' 'Tis to this laſt ſenſe that purgatory owes its origin. If the Reformers had availed themſelves of the former ſenſe, it would have furniſhed them with a reſource indeed leſs compleat, than that which the Roman Catholic clergy found in praying for the dead, but which their ſucceſſors have reaſon to repent having neglected.

The preſbyterians, and the French refugees themſelves, have had, in their chapels, baptiſmal fonts, and near theſe chapels, church-yards or burying-grounds, with a legal power to keep regiſters of baptiſms and deaths, and to give extracts from them. This power they are ſaid to have been deprived of: I do not know upon what occaſion, or under what pretext. It is, at leaſt, to be preſumed, that the clergy of the church of England did not oppoſe their being deprived of that privilege; 'is fecit cui profecit.'

The methodiſts, though the lateſt ſect of the non-conformiſts, have near their tabernacle a church-yard, but without prejudicing or obſtructing the dues and rights of the pariſh. It was regulated that every one who lies buried in this church-yard, ſhould have an inſcription on

tion of which, publiſhed in 1630, and corrected by the Congregation of the Index, was defended by its author in two tracts, inſerted in the 20th volume of the grand collection of his works. See likewiſe his treatiſe concerning the Sacraments. Bochard, 'De 'baptiſmo pro mortuis.'

his

his tomb, declaring the name of the pariſh to which he belonged: This is much the ſame practice as that at Paris, with regard to thoſe who have vaults appropriated to themſelves in the churches of monks or nuns.

The church of England obſerves, with regard to women, another ceremony, to which the wives of diſſenters ſometimes conform: I mean the ceremony of churching of women after lying-in.

I have ſeen the ceremony of confirmation performed at St. James's church: with the Engliſh it is no ſacrament, they acknowledge only baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper as ſuch *: 'tis no more than an honour done by the church of England to epiſcopacy. This ceremony was performed by a biſhop, but not by the biſhop of London. Being dreſſed in his rocket and

* It is not the fault of the Engliſh clergy, if the people are deprived of the benefit of confeſſion. The Liturgy authorizes it in two caſes. 1. By putting into the mouth of the miniſter, before the Lord's Supper is adminiſtered, an exhortation to thoſe whoſe conſcience is troubled with ſcruples or loaded with any great crime, to approach boldly, diſcover the ſtate of their minds, and receive, with the advice and conſolations they ſtand in need of, the grace of abſolution by the efficacious word of God. 2. By offering the ſame conſolation to the dying, and after confeſſion adminiſtering to them, if they deſire it, abſolution in theſe words: "May our Lord and Saviour "Jeſus Chriſt, who has left his church the power "of pardoning all penitent ſinners, and all ſuch "as put their truſt in him, forgive thee thy ſins: "and by his authority with which I am entruſted, I "abſolve thee of all thy ſins, in the name of the "Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Amen."

lawn

lawn ſleeves, aſſiſted by two miniſters, going round the rails which incloſe the communion-table, and laying his hands upon the heads of two perſons at the ſame time, he, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, repeated a ſhort prayer with an air of great dignity and importance; which being over, he laid his hands upon the two next. The advanced age of many of thoſe who were confirmed, induced me to think that this ceremony is much neglected.

The ſtation of miniſters in London, in the country towns, and in the country itſelf, is, in proportion to their rank, very honourable *. The univerſities are the ordinary ſeminaries of clergymen. Youth, inſtructed in theſe places by public authority, imbibe no principles and

* I muſt except the ſtation of chaplain to a nobleman. By a ſervile cringing, to which an Engliſhman in any other ſituation of life would never deſcend, the fawning clergyman obtains benefices in the gift of his patron. Thus circumſtanced, he reſembles thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who are attached to noble families in France, where they acquire influence, firſt as humble companions, then as friends, then as confidants. Some Engliſh chaplains attain the ſame end: a much greater number would, doubtleſs, attain it, if they had the reſource of confeſſion, and the direction of conſciences.

In other reſpects, the condition of the French chaplains and country curates was formerly the ſame as that of Engliſh chaplains. In Rabelais, we meet with a Mr. Qudart, curate of Baſché, who ſerved his lord as butler, as was then cuſtomary in France; and who, with his fine ſurplice, ſtole, and holy water, played the chief part in the tragi-comedy, with which the lord of Baſché entertained the pettifoggers belonging to the grand priory of St. Lovant. Rab. l. iv. c. 12.

prejudices,

prejudices, but ſuch as ſuit with an Engliſh government.

A college-life, continued by thoſe who intend for orders, generally gives them that ſelf-ſufficient, aſſuming and almoſt inſolent air, which, in ſome meaſure, gains upon the inferior clergy of France. They almoſt all of hem marry as ſoon as they get livings, and the only thing that perplexes them is the choice of a help-mate; as the wife of the miniſter is, in many reſpects, the ſecond perſon in the pariſh. To ſupport their dignity, they manage like moſt of the clerks of farmer-generals in France; that is to ſay, they live, furniſh their houſes and bring up their children in a manner proportioned to their preſent income, often even to their pretenſions to a better benefice: in a word, if the living actually poſſeſſed, or that which they are in expectation of, amounts to two or three hundred guineas a year, they furniſh their houſes upon the footing of ſuch of their pariſhioners as have an income equivalent, whether it be from commerce or land.

When one of theſe miniſters happens to die, his children are often incumbered with his debts, and unable to earn their bread by working, or by many orther creditable ways of life, which their education has uſed them to look upon as below them.

In theſe unfortunate circumſtances, the condition of the daughters is moſt to be pitied. Unable to reſolve upon getting their bread by labour, and aſhamed to beg, they ſometimes have recourſe to libertiniſm, as a way of life which, whilſt it exempts them from the neceſſity of working, may, at leaſt, preſerve them from beggary. Nothing is more common than for the children

children of the clergy to be in this deplorable condition, as the many and great charities which are intended to extricate them out of it, are by no means ſufficient for that purpoſe.

London every year furniſhes a contribution for theſe children, which proves the greatneſs of the evil by the remedy, and its being unable to obviate it. This contribution is voluntary. It is levied at St. Paul's church upon ſuch pious or curious ſouls, as are brought thither by a concert executed by the greateſt maſters of vocal and inſtrumental muſic in the capital. The concert is diſcontinued for a ſermon, which laſts about half an hour; and the whole entertainment is over in two hours. The choir of St. Paul's is the place for this exhibition, which, as it occurs but once in a twelvemonth, brings hither a prodigious concourſe of perſons, of all ranks in life, and of both ſexes.

The entrance of the church is, on the very morning of this concert, baracadoed in ſuch a manner, that people cannot gain admittance without paying their contribution to perſons who ſtand at the door to receive them.

I happened, on the eighth of May, the day of this ceremony, to paſs by St. Paul's church, when I followed the multitude that was entering; but met with nobody that could explain to me the cauſe of ſuch a concourſe of people. Within ſide the church door, I ſaw a kind of gang-way, and found myſelf between two large plates or baſons half filled with guineas; there ſtood ſome clergymen, who were talking to their acquaintance. My perplexity was removed by one of theſe gentlemen, who beckoned to me, and in French encouraged me to advance. He was ſo kind as to explain to me the nature and

end

end of the ceremony; telling me, "that the charity which gave occaſion to it was voluntary; that ſeveral pious and well-diſpoſed perſons contributed to it amply; and that thoſe who came thither through curioſity, were expected to contribute for their entrance. French charity, added he ſmiling, is not obliged to give ſuch proofs of its zeal, and has not ſuch opportunities of diſplaying itſelf." "ſuch opportunities are not wanting to us, replied I; and we ſhew our charity in a nobler manner, and with leſs oſtentation than the Engliſh. Thoſe very children, whoſe wants are relieved by the Engliſh only once in a twelvemonth, are by us brought up, educated, and admitted to a ſhare in our eſtates." He did not immediately ſee the drift of this raillery; but having afterwards taken my meaning, he ſqueezed my hand, and cried out, "French charity for ever:" offering, at the ſame time, to do all that lay in his power to ſerve me. Theſe offers immediately took effect: he diſpatched a young clergyman with me who placed me in the choir in one of the moſt advantageous parts, both for hearing and ſeeing. I ſaw the perſon who introduced me as I was going out, and was informed by him that a very conſiderable ſum had been collected at the door. He, at the ſame time, gave me to underſtand, that a young gentleman had preſented himſelf in the croud, who did not appear to be diſpoſed to contribute, and that one of the eccleſiaſtics aſking him whether he was the ſon of a clergyman, he had made anſwer, "As likely as not. My father, continued he, lives upon his own eſtate, and has always a chaplain in his houſe."

From

From this condition of the clergy and their families compared with that of churchmen in Roman Catholic countries, it ſeems natural to infer that the celibacy to which the latter are condemned, is infinitely preferable to the liberty which the former have of marrying; whether we conſider the inconveniencies which attend their making uſe of this liberty, or the ill conſequences that reſult from it.

Happy or unfortunate, ſay the Engliſh, the ſons of the clergy enjoy the bleſſing of exiſtence; that is the greateſt of all bleſſings, that bleſſing which puts the moſt diſtreſt circumſtances upon a level with the moſt brilliant fortunes.

‘ Mecene a dit : qu’on me rende impotent,
‘ Cul-de jatte, goutteux, manchot; pourvu
‘ qu’en ſomme
‘ Je vive, c’eſt aſſez : je ſuis plus que content.’

“ ’Twas a ſaying of Mecenas’s. Let me be
“ bed-rid, a cripple, gouty, or one-hand-
“ ed; provided I live, ’tis enough : I am
“ more than ſatisfied.”

Be their condition what it will, theſe children contribute to population, and to increaſe the number of inhabitants in the three kingdoms and the colonies.

Public edification being the firſt duty of miniſters, their marriages prevent a great deal of ſcandal, which it would be impoſſible to conceal from the curious, prying and ſharp-ſighted ſectaries, their adverſaries, amongſt whom they live. Before the riſe of Lutheraniſm, the clergy of the church of Rome, free from theſe ſhackles, followed at random the impulſes of nature. Poggius,

gius, who was ſucceſſively in the ſervice of ſeven popes, in quality of ſecretary and confidant, anſwered the reproach made him by cardinal Julian de St. Angelo, for having had three children by a girl he kept, with a ſtroke of pleaſantry *.

The marriage-ſtate, with all the duties that ariſe from it, being attended with a variety of cares and troubles, ſuch clergymen as happen to be entangled in it, have no time to concern themſelves with other people's affairs, which for that very reaſon thrive the better: at leaſt, if we may form a judgement from what they ſuffer in Roman Catholic countries, by the eagerneſs of churchmen to direct them.

On account of theſe engagements, the Engliſh clergy are not in their own country either aliens or the ſlaves of a foreign power: the ties which bind them to their children, unite them at the ſame time to the ſtate. Hence the clergy, as well as the biſhops, are always devoted to the prevailing party in the government: thus we find that in all the revolutions by which England has been agitated ſince the Reformation, the eſtabliſhed church has never taken the lead,

* 'Exprobras me habere filios, quod clerico non 'licet, ſine uxore, quod laicum non decet. Poſſum 'reſpondere, habere me filios, quod laicis expedit, '& ſine uxore, qui eſt mos clericorum ab orbis exor'dio fideliter obſervatus.'

"You reproach me with having ſons, which is "not proper for a clergyman; without being marri"ed, which would be indecent even in a layman. "I anſwer, that I have ſons, which is an advantage "to a layman; though unmarried, which is the "cuſtom that has always been obſerved by the cler"gy from the very beginning of the world."

but

but has quietly followed the impulſe given by the directing power *.

The ſects, whether religious or political, which have effected theſe revolutions, ſects entirely compoſed of married men, were, it is true, connected with the conſtitution, by the ſame ties which attached the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church to it; but the attachment of thoſe married men was neither owing to their being poſſeſſed of benefices, nor to the hopes of obtaining them, nor to any pretenſions of having thoſe perpetuated in their family. A blind enthuſiaſm in the common people, and views as extenſive as profund in the leaders, as well with reſpect to themſelves as their poſterity, were the ſprings of thoſe changes, in which, through 'the 'word of God,' they caſt a jealous eye, not ſo much upon the authority as the poſſeſſions of the clergy.

Since the ſeveral different branches of the ſtate have no longer any object in view, but to keep the ground which ſome have gained, and others preſerved, England has been divided into ſeveral peaceable ſects, which notwithſtanding their diverſity, are all agreed to look upon marriage as a fundamental article of religion, as the ſtate moſt conformable to the order of providence †, and all the duties which that

* 'Tortum digna ſequi potiùs quàm ducere funem.'

† The conjugal union in England ſupplies the place of the tie, which the nation might find in the unity of religion. They marry: therefore there is a God. Bayle lays down this maxim in the 16th of his New Letters againſt Maimbourg: he unfolds, eſtabliſhes, and demonſtrates it, in a manner the more ſatisfactory, as it is equally founded on ſentiment and reaſon.

ſtate

ſtate enjoins, as the firſt duties of a citizen enlightened by religion. The numerous offspring, to whom a proper diſcharge of theſe duties gives birth, are ſo many pledges to the government of the ſubmiſſion and obedience of their fathers. And, indeed, what has not the head of a numerous family to apprehend from thoſe inteſtine commotions, which might renew the horrors of a civil war *; horrors of which, an hiſtorian †, animated with the love of his country and of truth, has given ſo lively a picture.

In a word, the variety of ſects is, at preſent, to England what the difference of families is to the whole ſtate. Their views claſh, their intereſts are incompatible, each of them aggrandizes and ſtrengthens itſelf at the expence of the reſt; but the love of the general good which conſtitutes their particular welfare, and the fear of a common danger which might threaten each individual, unite their intereſts and their views, at leaſt as long as hope ſhews itſelf, or the danger laſts. This oppoſition of views and intereſts contributes, like the claſhing of the ſeveral parts of the natural world, to the ſtrength and ſupport of the whole machine: 'rerum concordia 'diſcors.'

' * ——— Animi metuunt paterni
' Injurioſo ne pede proruat (fortuna)
' Stantem columnam, vel populus frequens
' Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma
' Provocet, imperiumque frangat.
Hor. lib. iii. od. 35.

† Mr. Hume.

ANCIENT

ANCIENT MONASTERIES.

THE love of perfection innate in man, exalted by melancholy, and artfully worked upon by perſons above the common level, has given riſe to theſe new ſects: in this reſpect, they have one common origin with the old religious orders, which improving upon each other in refinements of zeal to poſſeſs nothing, to enjoy nothing, to die of want *, at laſt came to ſhare the landed eſtates of the greateſt part of Europe.

Tithes were †, as well as in the reſt of Europe, the firſt milk of theſe riſing eſtabliſhments: the biſhops, miſtaking them to be alienable, deprived the pariſh prieſts of them, which gave riſe to an animoſity as irreconcileable as unedifying, between the ſecular and regular clergy. It even reached the ſuperior clergy, who ſometimes made unavailing efforts to

* 'Eſurire docebant, & diſcipulos invenerunt.
Πεινῆν διδάσκει, ϗ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει.
"They taught to faſt, and found diſciples"

Diog. Laert. l. vii. has preſerved to us this verſe of an ancient comic poet, concerning the chief of the Stoics. The different ſects of philoſophers, not excepting that of Epicurus, at leaſt as Gaſſendi has repreſented it, were all founded upon the deſire of perfection. When I compare the founders of monaſtic orders to the ancient philoſophers, I ſpeak with the monk William of Newbury, who, in a paſſage which I ſhall cite preſently, calls them 'Chriſtianos 'philoſophantes, "philoſophiſing Chriſtians."

† In their origin, voluntary oblations, but which have ſince become an abſolute duty. See Grimaudet, Treatiſe of Tythes, book ii. chap. 5.

bring

bring things to their ancient and natural ſtate. England had prelates, who acted with the ſame vigour, with regard to this eſtabliſhment, as was exerted in France, in oppoſition to the monks and the popes who patronized them, by the learned Ives of Chartres *, and Raoul biſhop of Saintes; or as that firmneſs ſhewn in the tenth century, by the majority of the ſuperior clergy of France, at the council held at Dennis in 990. Upon this laſt occaſion † the biſhops

* 'Quâ audaciâ,' ſaid Yves of Chartres to the monks, in his 280th letter, 'quâ audaciâ, ô monachi, 'exigere præſumitis ubi nihil exhibetis? Si ita vultis, 'baptiſate naſcentes, ſepelite morientes, viſitate jacentes, copulate nubentes; in eccleſiâ denique 'aperiat os ſuum monachus, cujus officium eſt ſedere & tacere.' "With what audaciouſneſs, ſaid "Yves of Chartres to the monks, in his 28th "letter, with what boldneſs ye monks, do you preſume to exact where you do nothing? If you have "a mind to act, baptiſe thoſe who are juſt born, bury the dead, viſit the ſick, marry couples diſpoſed "for wedlock; in fine, let a monk, whoſe duty it is "to ſit ſtill and be ſilent, open his mouth in the "church and hold forth." To ſtrike at the ſource of this abuſe, it was ſufficient to infer the indefeaſibleneſs of tythes from their inalienability.

† Aimoin has left us a narrative of this ſcandalous ſcene, in the life of St. Abbot of Fleury, who had played one of the chief parts in it. 'Ortâ ſubitò 'ſeditione, cum ſermo ageretur de decimis eccleſiarum, reſiſtente eis in hac re venerabile dei cultore 'Abbone, tantus in epiſcopos timor irruit ut, publicâ ſtatione relicta, paſſim quiſque diffugeret: inter quos Seguinus, Senonum archiepiſcopus primatum in ea ſynodo ſibi uſurpans, primatum quoque 'fugæ arripuit, & inter fugiendam ſecuri inter ſca-

'pulas

biſhops almoſt received the crown of martyrdom from the monks: on every diſpute of a ſimilar nature, the prelates were bitterly inveighed againſt in the monkiſh writings. In this manner is Roger, archbiſhop of York, a confidant to Henry the Second, blackened and traduced by William of Newbury, in the fifth chapter of the third book of this hiſtory: 'Quod deteriorem fecerat in omnibus conditionem religioſorum,' (whom he calls 'Chriſtianos philoſophantes) quam clericorum.' "Becauſe "he had made the condition of the religious in "every reſpect, worſe than that of the clergy."

In the century following, the buſineſs of tythes had raiſed great diſturbances throughout a conſiderable part of Germany. Sigefroy, biſhop of Mentz, had, by main violence, ſeized upon all the tythes belonging to the territory of his dioceſe; and being ſupported by the emperor Henry the Fourth, he continued to enjoy them for five years. The affair being laid before a council, the biſhops anſwered the complaints of the abbots of Fuld and Halberſtat, that the tythes had perhaps been a neceſſary milk to the infancy of monaſteries, which might eaſily do

'pulas ictus, lutoque a popularibus oblitus ægrè 'evaſit.' "A ſedition having riſen on a ſudden, "when the tythes of the clergy came to be diſcuſſ-"ed, the venerable and religious abbot oppoſing "them, the biſhops were ſeized with ſuch terror "that they all fled, having left their public ſtations; "amongſt the reſt, Seguin the archbiſhop of Soiſ-"ſons, though he pretended to the firſt place in the "ſynod, was the firſt to fly, and being in his flight "wounded between the ſhoulders with an axe, and "rolled in the dirt by the people, he with difficulty "eſcaped."

without

without them in their preſent ſtate of manhood. At laſt the abbots, to compromiſe the matter, had conſented to ſhare the tythes with the biſhop, who ſtill enjoys them by the ſame right.

In the revolution which happened under Henry the Eighth, and his ſon, the tythes were, in ſome counties of England, encroached upon by the nobles; in others, the inferior clergy were reinſtated in them; in other places the people ſhook them off, availing themſelves of the aſſertion of their countryman Wickliff: "that "they are nothing elſe but alms which the "people may diſpenſe with beſtowing, if thoſe "to whom they are given, don't live ac-"cording to the canons of the church:" an aſſertion which had been before advanced by certain Italian canoniſts, who gave very ſharp reaſons for it.

By means of commendams the biſhops of France have recovered the tythes, but 'tis at the expence of the inferior clergy, whom this meaſure has not reconciled to the firſt uſurpers.

With regard to monaſtic inſtitutions, England was a ſort of land of promiſe to that fraternity. An hiſtorian has obſerved, that in the troubles which, about the middle of the twelfth century, filled the reign of king Stephen, a greater number of monaſteries had been erected in this kingdom than in the whole preceding century *.

We

* 'Multò plura ſub brevitate temporis quo Ste-'phanus regnavit, quam centum retrò annis, ſervo-'rem & ancillarum Dei monaſteria initium ſumpſe-'runt. "More monaſteries were founded during "the ſhort reign of king Stephen, than for a hun-"dred years before." Guil. Newbr. l. ii. c. 15. See the Monaſticum Anglicanum publiſhed by Dugdale,

We have obſerved the ſame taſte revived in France in the laſt century, with a fervour which would hardly have been conceived, if the monuments that prove it were not viſible throughout the kingdom: the pariſh of St. Sulpice alone ſaw, about this time, erected at Paris, in its precincts.

The little Auguſtinians,	in —	1609
Nov. des Jeſuites,	— —	1610
Carmes Dechaux,	— —	1611
The Calvary,	— —	1625
Jacobins,	— —	1632
Belle-chaſſe,	— —	1635
Precious Blood,	— —	1636
Recollect,	— —	1640
St. Joſeph,	— —	1641
Theatines,	— —	1648
Mercy,	— —	1651
Our Lady in the Wood,	—	1654
The Holy Sacrament,	—	1655
The little Cordelier Nuns,	—	1660
The Premontrés,	— —	1661
Chriſtian Inſtruction,	—	1662
Foreign Miſſions,	— —	1663
The Conſolation,	— —	1669
Pantemont,	— —	1671
Viſitation,	— —	1673
Orphan Girls,	— —	1680

dale, in 1655, 1661, and 1673; it makes three volumes in folio. Upon running through this collection, I was ſtruk with the prodigious number of religious houſes eſtabliſhed in England by the order of Fontevrault. In theſe convents the Engliſh found means to gratify their ruling paſſion, of poſſeſſing the ſupreme power at home.

The good Paſtor,	—	—	1688
The Carmelite Nuns,		—	1689
Notre Dame des Prez,		—	1690
St. Tecle,	—	—	1700
St. Valere,	—	—	1706

I do not place in the number of theſe new foundations, the mad-houſe, the hoſpitals of incurable, the convaleſcents and the Charite, the invalids, the Mazarine college, the ſeminaries of St. Sulpice, of St. Lewis, &c.

The multiplication of the houſes of the ancient orders, and the creation of a number of new ſocieties, have appeared to the learned Spaniard Diego of Saavedra, as contrary to the intereſt of the ſtate as to that of religion, and even to the monaſteries themſelves. In the 66th of his political emblems, conſidering this multiplication with all the reſerve becoming an author writing under the power of the inquiſition, he reckons it amongſt the cauſes of Spain's being ſo ill peopled, and the Spaniſh monarchy's being weakened and reduced. He then takes ſhelter under the authority of the third council of Lateran, (which, in the very age that gave riſe to the Mendicant orders, expreſſly forbids the eſtabliſhment of any new religious ſociety), to revive the memory of the remonſtrances by which the council of Caſtile had unſucceſsfully applied to king Phillip the Third, that the age for commencing the noviciate ſhould be fixed to ſixteen, and the age for making the vows to twenty: ' verum,' adds the wiſe Spaniard, ' confidentior pietas & animi ſcrupulus ' prudentiæ parum congruens incommoda illa ' facilè diſſimulavit.' " But the confidence of " piety and the ſcrupulouſneſs of ſoul, which is

" little

" little compatible with prudence, eaſily over-
" looked thoſe inconveniences."

A monaſtic life was but too well ſuited to the ſerious and gloomy temper of the Engliſh nation *, not to make a moſt rapid progreſs in that kingdom; in conſequence of this temper, it continued to retain its firſt fervour in that country longer than in any other; and upon this account England merited the appellation of the 'Iſle of Saints.' The exceſſes of this ſort which its inhabitants ran into, ſerved not a little to give a colour to the violent methods adopted by Henry the Eighth and his ſucceſſors, in order to form a new people.

The three kingdoms are, at this day, ſtrewed with the ruins of theſe pious foundations; which, upon different accounts, are reſpected

* This taſte was ſo congenial to the climate of England, that the Saxon dynaſties ſaw their firſt kings, when hardly converted to Chriſtianity, deſcend from the throne by their own choice, get their heads ſhaved, and paſs the remainder of their days in a cloiſter. The hiſtory of the other barbarous nations, who ſettled in Europe and embraced the Chriſtian religion, furniſhes no example of a fervour of devotion ſo general or ſo conſtant. Before the conqueſt of Britain by the Romans, Druidiſm had occaſioned the ſame zeal. 'Diſciplina Druidem 'in Britanniâ reperta,' ſays Cæſar, 'atque in Galliam 'inde tranſlata; & nunc qui diligentius eam rem cog-'noſcere volunt, plerumque illò, diſcendi cauſâ, 'proficiſcuntur.' "The diſcipline of the Druids "had its firſt origin in Britain, and from thence "paſſed over into Gaul; and thoſe who are now "deſirous of making a proficiency in that doctrine, "and becoming thoroughly acquainted with it, ge-"nerally repair to that kingdom, in order to become "adepts in the knowledge taught by that ſect."

by the whole nation *. Fathers incumbered with a large family, look upon them as aſylums which might have afforded reception to their children; gentlemen of fortune view them as fine eſtates, on which a ſon of theirs might make a figure as a mitred abbot; travellers conſider them in the light of inns, where diſcreet hoſpitality † reconciled the jealouſy of the people to the opulence of the houſe; foreigners regard them as objects which furniſhed matter for a compariſon between England and their reſpective countries: in fine, the lovers of antiquity conſider them as pious foundations, whoſe magnificence was an ornament to the country in which they were erected. Theſe edifices are ſome of the principal objects of inveſtigation of the ſociety of antiquaries; this ſociety, at different times, cauſes plans and views of them to be taken, which now make a curious collection.

To the ancient poſſeſſors of theſe places, to the Benedictines, the Ciſtercians, the Bernardines, the Cluniſts, the Fontevriſts, &c. have ſucceeded the Preſbyterians, the Anabaptiſts, the Quakers, the Herenhutters, the Methodiſts, &c. all of whom are fathers of families, all of whom ſerve the ſtate, either in perſon or by their children, in domeſtic and foreign trade, in

* The Athenians had left the temples of Attica violated by the Perſians, in ruins: theſe ruins were in the eye of poſterity, monuments of the danger to which public liberty had been expoſed, and of the valour of thoſe who had ſacrificed themſelves to preſerve it. Pauſan. l. ii. and 20. Iſoorat. Paneg.

† The 28th of Peter de Blois's letters, turns upon the hoſpitality of the ancient monks of England, and the degeneracy of their ſucceſſors; this ſubject is treated with equal livelineſs and energy.

the

the colonies, in the church, in war, and at ſea.

What zealous Catholic, upon ſeeing ſo ſtrange a metamorphoſis, but has a right to apply to England, what pope St. Leo ſaid of Pagan Rome *? But England has by this change gained a great increaſe of inhabitants, an exceſs of whom ſhe can never fear †; eſtabliſhments as numerous, as ſolidly uſeful with reſpect to the ſciences, the arts, and all the wants of human nature; a people amongſt whom thoſe of learned profeſſions are not educated in principles and prejudices incompatible with the views of the government, &c.

The Engliſh maintain, that France is no way a gainer by the diminution which the monaſtic ſtate ſuffers every day in that kingdom; that it would be in no reſpect the better for its entire ſuppreſſion; in a word, that the monks, both for number and every thing laid to their charge, are greatly ſurpaſſed by that vaſt number of abbés, who, at Paris, ſeem to live for nothing but to eat and ſleep.

With regard to the cultivation of land, it may very well be doubted whether the kingdom would be at all bettered by it, at leaſt, by thoſe who, knowing the preſent ſtate of agriculture in France, cannot be ignorant that the lands,

* 'Magnum ſibi videbatur aſſumpſiſſe religionem, 'quia nullam reſpuebat falſitatem.' "It thought 'itſelf become very religious, becauſe it rejected no "falſehood." Sermon ii. de Apoſt. Petro & Paulo.

† The firſt of God's benedictions on Abraham: 'multiplicabo ſemen tuum ſicut ſtellas cæli, & velut 'arenam quæ eſt in littore maris.' Gen. xxii. 17, "I will multiply thy ſeed as the ſtars of heaven, and "as the ſand upon the ſea-ſhore."

and farms belonging to the monks, to the knights of Malta, &c. are the beſt cultivated in the kingdom; that their farms are kept in the beſt order, and the farmers in the eaſieſt circumſtances. If we caſt an eye on the moſt diſtant tracts of Italy, this doubt will be ſtill farther juſtified, when we ſee a great part of that fine country of no value at all, except in ſuch diſtricts as are immediately dependent upon wealthy monaſteries. One thing at leaſt is certain, namely, that England as well as France is indebted to the ancient monks for the firſt grubbing up of its lands, the firſt ideas of amelioration, the drying up of marſhes, and all the eſtabliſhments neceſſary as well for the conſtruction of that prodigious number of buildings which the ancient monaſteries had within their incloſure, as for all the wants of numerous communities.

Du Cange's Dictionary informs us, at the word HOSPES, that the clergy rendered their land valuable by ſharing it for the quit-rent, with ſuch farmers as were invited thither by property. It was this meaſure that cauſed France to begin to grow populous again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was this that enabled the famous Suger to double the revenues of the abbey of St. Dennis. The collection of French hiſtorians, by Du Cheſne, preſents us with the memoirs of that abbé's adminiſtration, his will which exhibits the reſult of it, and a ſort of ballance of accounts; laſtly, with the proclamation, which he publiſhed in 1145; and according to which, the territory of Vaucreſſon, near Verſailles, that he had juſt grubbed, and where he had built houſes and a church, was peopled in a very ſhort time. Theſe pieces

are

are well worth the ſtudy and attention of thoſe who have colonies either to plant or direct.

The reader will, perhaps, oppoſe this obſervation by that of the learned Abbe le Bœuf, in his hiſtory of the dioceſe of Paris, relative to the depopulation and annihilation, as it were, into which the diſtricts of Chateaufort and Chevreuſe have fallen, ſince they came into the hands of the nuns of St. Cyr. But the ſource of this depopulation, unknown to lands poſſeſſed by monks, holds only with regard to the eſtates of noblemen, which are managed by ſtewards.

The example of Henry the Eighth had been propoſed to our Henry the Fourth. It was obſerved to him, "That a king of France, deſirous of employing his uſeleſs ſubjects, for "the ſecurity of the ſtate, ſhould lay out what "goes to the church in raiſing ſoldiers, without meddling with thoſe who have the care "of ſouls, and conſequently, might keep on "foot three armies, each of one hundred thouſand men and a hundred cannon; might "ſupply his garriſons with arms; pay his officers; take off a third part of the taxes, and "put a million of money every year into his "coffers *." Thoſe grandees who ſuggeſted ſuch views to Henry the Fourth, and thoſe who ſhould happen now to have the like ſentiments †,

* D'Aubigne, Hiſt. univ. l. iii. c. 25.

† M. Colbert had ſuch views as theſe, but in moderation; and he diſcovered his mind by the edict of 1688, 'with regard to the reformation of the monaſteries. The monks renewed the clamours which had, in the ſucceeding age, blown the fire of civil wars. The edict of 1668, and the reflections with which

do not, doubtleſs, form the ſame eſtimate of the divine grandeur as they do of their own, which they meaſure by the number of idle perſons about them. Have we not ſeen M. Silhouette abuſed and turned into ridicule, for making an attempt to reduce this grandeur, by laying a tax upon coaches and liveries!

Happily for England, Henry the Eight, laying the axe to the root of eccleſiaſtical immunities, had an eye chiefly to the ſcarcity of money, which equally affected both himſelf and his court favourites. Their neceſſities threw into commerce the greateſt part of the church lands, which were adjudged to the higheſt bidder. Theſe ſpoils, either reunited to the royal domain, or left in their natural ſtate to courtiers, would have been doubly loſt: the royal domain and the great proprietors would never have been gainers by them like the firſt poſſeſſors; they would always have been ſacred to the bulk of the nation, which, being now poſſeſſed of them, manages them in a manner equally advantageous to the proprietor, who is intereſted to improve them in proportion to their high value*; and to the ſtate, the moſt conſiderable part of whoſe wealth conſiſts in the products of

which M. Colbert cauſed it to be accompanied, were attacked with a virulent invective, publiſhed by the Jacobin, who wrote the 'Fatalité de S:. Cloud.' That tract was entitled, The new apparition of Luther and Calvin, in reflections upon the edict of the reformation of monaſteries, with an examen of the treatiſe of the political power, with regard to the age proper for the religious profeſſion. Paris, 1669.

* '——Coacta
'Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono.'

agriculture.

agriculture. The Engliſh, when they recal to memory this great atchievement of Henry the Eighth, may ſay with the renowned chief of antiquity, "We ſhould have been undone, if "we had not been ruined!"

Before I drop this ſubject, I muſt endeavour to draw a picture of the behaviour of the Engliſh ſectaries to each other, from the manner in which the ſeveral religious orders live together.

Theſe orders have no love, and but little eſteem for each other; they ſhew their mutual jealouſy openly. The moſt regular, learned, and opulent, avail themſelves of their regularity, knowledge, and wealth, to look down with an eye of contempt upon thoſe orders which lead a life of idleneſs, ignorance, and beggary. What troubles both in church and ſtate have been excited by their rivalſhips and jealouſies, when ſovereigns, either through weakneſs or ſome other cauſe, have been unable to keep them in awe!

Except at theſe critical times, religious orders live together like thoſe dogs in a yard, which are,

"Companions in the ſame houſe, and have "one common maſter."

La Fontaine's fable of the Ape and the Cat, that is to ſay, with an appearance of unanimity, which is in no danger of being diſſolved by a little back-biting or a few ſquabbles, almoſt unavoidable in a community.

Such is, at this day, the behaviour of theſe Engliſh ſectaries to each other: they have formerly ſeen times as turbulent as the preſent age is peaceable; in thoſe days the Preſbyterians or Puritans long acted the principal part.

THE PURITANS.

The deſpotiſm of the court of Rome appeared to be the chief object of the ſolicitude and zeal of that ſect. They ſaw this deſpotiſm continued in the epiſcopacy which Henry the Eighth had retained. They endeavoured to raiſe the jealouſy of the ſovereign, by comparing each prelate to that inſolent archbiſhop of York, who, ſeeing at his feet the renowned William the Conqueror, ſaid to thoſe who were in a hurry to raiſe him, "Sinite illum jacere ad pedes Petri *," "Suffer him to lie at the feet of Peter." They exhauſted themſelves in declamations, to prove that Rome and epiſcopacy were born enemies to royalty and to all temporal authority, and that ſubmiſſive ſubjects and a faithful people were to be found in their ſect alone.

Their principles ſoon changed with their circumſtances: at the firſt appearance of a perſecution they proved, from God's own word, that revolt became a neceſſary remedy to ſubjects whoſe conſciences were forced, and they acted in conſequence.

Prynne, a zealous Preſbyterian demonſtrated, 'ex profeſſo,' that it is lawful to uſe the ſword againſt hereticks; a demonſtration, which, in 1688, a Benedictine monk retorted againſt the French Proteſtants, who complained of the ſeverities then inflicted upon them.

Even before the Preſbyterians had attained to that pitch of grandeur to which their perſecuting ſpirit helped to raiſe them, they had declared,

* Guil. Neubr. l. ii. p. 2.

they

they had preached, and had even cauſed it to be printed in their profeſſion of faith in the reign of queen Elizabeth, that kings are ſubordinate like their ſubjects to the authority of the eccleſiaſtical magiſtrate. "Princes, ſaid Cartwright, one "of their principal writers, ſhould ſubmit to "the church, lay at its feet their ſcepters and "their crowns, and lick the duſt of its foot-"ſteps." Did Gregory the Seventh ever ſpeak to ſovereigns in a ſtyle more haughty or more arrogant?

France ſhews us the ſame variations in the language and conduct of the religioniſts and leaguers. They are to be ſeen in the requeſts and ſupplications of the Huegonots addreſſed to Francis the Firſt and Henry the Second, compared with the 'Vindiciæ contra tyrannos,' and with the treatiſe 'De poteſtate magiſtratus in 'ſubditos, &c.' What a multiplicity of arguments did the Catholics oppoſe to theſe principles of revolt! To the diſgrace of human reaſon, thoſe ſelf-ſame Roman Catholics were afterwards ſeen to adopt thoſe very principles, and make them the baſis of the league, which they entered into againſt Henry the Fourth. Theſe principles were inceſſantly inculcated in the ſermons, declamations, and libels, of Commolet, Boucher, and the chief incendiaries. A French biſhop, William Roſe biſhop of Senlis and an advocate general, dared to own them; the former in a treatiſe, intitled 'De juſta R. P. 'Chriſtianæ in reges impios auctoritate;' the latter in a libel of 260 pages, with the title of 'Ludovici d'Orleans expoſtulatio:' writings in which we find with aſtoniſhment, a verbal repetion of the authorities and examples cited in the 'Vindiciæ contra tyrannos,' and in the

treatiſe

treatiſe ' De poteſtate magiſtratus in ſubditos.' Alternately, and according to the circumſtances *, Proteſtants and Catholics ſung in chorus, with the veſtry-keeper of the holy chapel:

' Pour ſoutenir nos droits que le ciel autoriſe,
' Abimons tout plutot : c'eſt l'eſprit de l'Egliſe †.

" In ſupport of our rights, which are au-
" thoriſed by heaven, let us make a general ha-
" vock : it is the ſpirit of the church."

Part of the ancient religious orders, and all the modern ones, adopted the regicide maxims: they neceſſarily adopted them, and they will always do the ſame in ſimilar circumſtances. Theſe maxims, now univerſally exploded, had been received by the Jeſuits, who preſerved them with as much care as the Guebres watch the ſacred fire: this was indeed in their hands a ſort of ſacred fire, with which they might have ſet the whole world in a conflagration, whenever they thought proper; but which, being taken out of their hands, by their own miſmanagement, has conſumed themſelves ‡.

The

* ' Privatæ cauſæ pietatis aguntur obtentu, et cu-
' piditatum quiſque ſuarum religionem habet veluti
' pediſſequam. S Leo epiſt. ad Theodoſium.'

† " God's death! the goods of the church! Oh,
" no, no; the Engliſh St. Thomas was willing to
" die for them: if I died, ſhould I not be a ſaint
" likewiſe?" ſaid brother John des Entomeurs, arming himſelf with the croſs againſt the ſoldiers of Picrochole, who ranſacked his convent. Rab. l. i. c. 17.

‡ " And a fire was kindled in their company; the
" flame burnt up the wicked, the earth was opened,
" and

The ſage Montaigne, ſtruck with this oppoſition of ſentiments, exclaimed, "See the "ſtrange imprudence with which we diſpute "ſacred maxims, and how we have rejected "and reſumed them, according as the face of "affairs has changed in public ſtorms." This ſolemn queſtion, "whether it is lawful for ſub-"jects to rebel, and turn their arms againſt "their prince in defence of their religion?" was maintained, as you may remember, by many mouths laſt year, and was the chief prop of one party, whilſt the negative was the ſupport of another; hear from what quarter comes the voice and inſtruction both of one and the other —I ſee this evidently, that we do our utmoſt to make religion ſubſervient to our paſſions *.

Let us now return to England. The preference given by James the Firſt and his ſucceſſor to the church of England, ſoon tired the patience of the Preſbyterian party. Thoſe of that ſect who could not bear what they called the abomination of deſolation in the holy place, immediately left their country, and went over in crowds to America, where the ſettlement which they made at Maſſachuſet, to the north of Maryland, has by fifty years preceded every Engliſh eſtabliſhment on the continent of America.

"and ſwallowed up Dathan, and covered the com-"pany of Abiram." Pſalm cv.

* This paſſage of the twelfth chapter of the ſecond book of Montaigne's Eſſays is not to be found in the firſt edition of 1580. Montaigne added it a ſhort time before his death, after the Catholics had openly made profeſſions of the principles, which they had, till then oppoſed in the Proteſtant writers.

Being

Being in this colony left to themſelves, and to their enthuſiaſm, warmed by their conſtant ſkirmiſhes with the ſavages round them, they, with a thouſand extravagant ideas of reformation and rigid purity, ſplit themſelves into a variety of parties, which perſecuted each other. In the mean time this colony, which was ſoon in a flouriſhing condition, became as it were the nurſery of the colonies now poſſeſſed by England in North America: and, notwithſtanding its frequent and numerous emigrations to Great Britain, it ſtill has above 50,000 inhabitants.

Such of the Preſbyterians as a leſs degree of enthuſiaſm ſuffered to ſtay in England and weather the ſtorm, came at laſt, in the days of Charles the Firſt, 'to ſubject the ſcepter and 'crown to their church,' when the Independents, availing themſelves of the principles which had ſecured the victory to that party, ſeized upon the fruits they were upon the point of gathering.

From the time of this revolution, what had appeared to the Preſbyterians, whilſt in power, as conſummate wiſdom, was no longer conſidered by them in any other light but that of a tumultuous anarchy. They expreſſed this diſſatisfaction in a work, the four parts of which were publiſhed ſucceſſively in the courſe of the years 1648, 1649, and 1651 *; a work which procured its author the honour of being ſent to the tower by Oliver Cromwell †.

This

* With the title of 'De Anarchiâ Anglicanâ.

† Cromwell, as ſoon as he had attained the height of his wiſhes, conſidered ſubmiſſion to the powers in being as an indiſpenſable duty. The notes upon Hudibras,

This diſcontent was not confined to writings: Charles the Second owed his reſtoration to it. The church of England had been the firſt pretext, and one of the principal cauſes, of the revolt. The Preſbyterians brought about the reſtoration of that likewiſe; they would even have reſtored the Pope himſelf, if his reſtoration, by delivering them from the Independents, had opened even the remoteſt proſpect of ſucceſs to their pretenſions.

They afterwards helped to haſten the fall of James the Second; but the revolution did not better their condition. The church of England gained ground by it, as well by the advantages which king William's policy ſecured to it, as by his ſucceſs in gaining, over the moſt eminent of the Preſbyterian party to the church, and attaching them to its intereſts, by benefices.

The houſe of Hanover having continued this ſyſtem, the church of England gained new ſtrength by expanding itſelf, and has acquired a ſuperiority over the diſſenting communions, which ſeems to have ſecured it from all the efforts of their jealouſy and malice.

King William, who was educated in the boſom of Puritaniſm or rigid Calviniſm, had found by his own experience, how oppoſite the maxims of that ſect were to the authority which he aimed at eſtabliſhing in England: they had, in his early infancy, deprived him of the Stadholderſhip, which was hereditary to his family.

The misfortunes of Charles the Firſt owed their origin to the maxims which influenced the

dibras, tom. iii. p. 232. contain a ſermon preached by Cromwell himſelf, upon the text of St. Paul, 'Omnis anima poteſtatibus, &c. A popolo pazzo,' ſays the Italian proverb, 'prete ſpiritato.'

conduct

conduct of the Scotch with reſpect to that prince. The Scotch themſelves had diſcovered them in the hiſtory of the troubles of their country in the years 1638, 39, and 40; a hiſtory which fills 600 pages in octavo, ſaid in the title page to be printed at Dantzic, but in fact printed in Holland, by Blaeu. This work, in which the different events, their cauſes, and their various ſprings, are unfolded, with all the confidence that fanaticiſm can inſpire, had been profoundly meditated upon by king William, who could not ſee, without that emotion which even a reader, not intereſted, can hardly avoid feeling, by what degrees a blind hatred to epiſcopacy led the Scotch army to deliver up the unfortunate Charles the Firſt to Cromwell, a hatred in which the three millions of florins were not forgotten, which that prince had engaged, by the treaty of the fifth of September 1640, to pay to 'his brethren of Scotland,' by way of indemnity.

I have read this hiſtory, which is written in elegant Latin*; and I doubt that, notwithſtanding all the proteſtations of reſpect for the kingly power and perſon of Charles the Firſt, which make part of the deliberations, reſolutions, and remonſtrances, that have been there inſerted at full length, no Engliſh monarch, who has given it a peruſal, will be at all diſpoſed to eſtabliſh Calviniſm as the predominant religion of his kingdom.

* With this title, 'Rerum nuper in regno Scotiæ geſtarum hiſtoria, ſeu verius commentarium cauſas, occaſiones, progreſſus horum motuum breviter et dilucidè proponens, ſimul cum ſynopſi concordiæ, quantum hactenus inita eſt; per Irenæum Philalethon Eleuterum, Dantiſci, 1641.'

To

To the Engliſh Puritans let us join thoſe French Refugees, who are united with them by Calviniſm. They do not, however, form one body: the French Refugees, though they all underſtand Engliſh, have ſermons, a liturgy, and miniſters of their own *. Their liturgy is that of Geneva, from whence come the miniſters, who read prayers and preach to them in French.

I have aſſiſted at their ſervice: it conſiſts of pſalms, which are ſung in French; of ſermons and prayers. A young miniſter, whom I heard preach, was juſt arrived from Geneva; he had the air, the deportment, the tone, and the whole outward appearance, of a ſpruce abbé. He explained, in a connected diſcourſe, how Chriſt had been a ſtumbling-block to the Jews, folly to the Greeks, &c. †; and this diſcourſe was as empty of matter, as the ſtyle was ſmooth and eaſy. I took notice, that 'the divine man, 'that divine man, the divine legiſlator,' were the only circumlocutions, made uſe of by him to denote Jeſus Chriſt.

In the prayers for the king and the royal family of England, inſerted in the liturgy of theſe Refugees, they add one, as affecting as it is ſolemn, by which they requeſt it of God, that he would, in his mercy, be pleaſed to ſoften the hearts of ſovereigns irritated againſt his people. This prayer, uttered in England, in an aſſembly of Frenchmen, ſtruck me the more, as I knew how they ſtood affected with regard to

* Great part of the French Refugees uſe the liturgy of the church of England, in their own Language. T.

† 'Ad Corinth. ep. i, c. 1.

France,

France It is the moſt lively affection, not only in the few that remain of the firſt Refugees, but in the third and fourth generation. They all acknowledge no other home but France: they look upon England as a foreign country; and they firmly hope, that a new Cyrus, by breaking their chains, will reſtore them to that land which is the object of their wiſhes.

The firſt Refugees were enemies to France; enemies whoſe deſpair greatly promoted king William's cauſe; they furniſhed him with gazetteers, writers, ſoldiers, engineers, and officers, with whom he had the higheſt reaſon to be ſatisfied. Fournier, a French refugee was the inventor and director of that infernal machine which the Engliſh, in 1693, launched againſt St. Maloe *. The miſchief which they did their country, their good wiſhes in favour of England, and the pleaſure with which they behold the misfortunes of France, proceed from the love which they ſtill retain for their native ſoil: they are like lovers, who cannot baniſh from their hearts a miſtreſs who has uſed them ill; they will again devote themſelves to her intirely, as ſoon as ſhe appears to reſtore her affections to them. Martial, with a heart torn with ſuch a conflict of paſſion, exclaimed,

'Odi & amo: quare id faciam ſi forte requiris,
'Neſcio; ſed fieri ſentio et excrucior.

To know thoroughly the warmth and the whole force of theſe ſentiments, it is ſufficient to hint to theſe French refugees ſome particular circum-

* See The Intereſts of England ill underſtood, 2d edition, p. 174, and thoſe that follow.

ſtance

ſtance which ſhews in the court of France a diſpoſition to recall them:

Veræ voces tunc demum pectore ab imo
Eliciuntur.

All unanimouſly conclude for leaving England, with an alacrity which can have its ſource only in the tendereſt affection *.

I accidentally became acquainted with an old gentleman of Dauphine, who had quitted France and the French ſervice at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz: being a man of family, he at firſt, through a delicacy of ſentiment, declined ſerving againſt his country; but afterward found himſelf obliged, by poverty, to deſcend to the low employment of a ſpy. During the ſiege of Liſle in Flanders, he paſſed the day in the town, and the night in the camp of the allies: a marriage which brought him chlidren, laid him under a neceſſity of continuing this trade, which he ſtill followed in the war of 1740. When he was above 90, paralytic, ſubſiſting upon a ſmall penſion ſettled upon him by the court, and the aſſiſtance which he received from two of his daughters, who lived in a low way, he once expreſſed himſelf to me thus, "If "Lewis the XVth thought proper to recall "to his dove-houſe all the doves whom the "bad policy of Lewis the XIVth baniſhed from

* Their ſituation is pretty nearly the ſame in which the edict of May 1765 has left the civil officers in France, whom ſhe has diſmiſſed; born inveterate enemies to the new adminiſtration ſo long as they are excluded from it; they will praiſe it up to the ſkies as ſoon as they are admitted to a ſhare of it.

"it,

" it, I would to-morrow ſet out upon my " crutches; and once more viſit France, my " beloved country; my journey would be the " moſt agreeable period of my life, if I was to " die immediately upon my arrival in Dau- " phine; even ſo, I ſhould at leaſt have the ſa- " tisfaction of being buried there *."

This man computed at 30,000 ſouls the number of French Refugees ſettled in London alone, all of whom had a trade, or ſome fund, more or leſs conſiderable, in commerce. He had heard, that one of the principal cauſes that obſtructed their being recalled, was the perplexity which a ſudden exceſs of population might cauſe in the miniſtry, already ſufficiently buſied in the preſent ſtate of affairs: herein he was, no doubt, miſinformed.

The attachment of theſe Refugees to the religion of their fathers, has loſt a great deal of that ardour which was kept up by perſecution. Notwithſtanding the continued efforts of a number of perſons intereſted to ſupport it, the ſpirit of perſecution has equally loſt ground in France; the indulgence ſhewn to the Refugees in their

* We meet with the ſame ſentiments of affection for France in a letter from Peter of Blois to Eudes biſhop of Paris, 'XXVI Annos in Angliâ peregrinans, 'linguam quam non noveram audivi. Heu mihi 'quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt! Et non eſt 'qui compatitur exuli!——Nunc finem imponet 'peregrinationi meæ, et ſaltem ſemel, ante ſupremi 'ſpiritus exhalationem, in aere nativo mihi liceat 'reſpirare! Præſules Galliarum apud quos factus 'ſum tanquam alienigena, mortuus à corde, tanquam 'vas perditum, mihi nimis obduruerunt. Veniat 'auſter perflans veſtrum & liquefaciat illud, &c. 'Petr. Blois, Epiſt. 160.'

own

own country, would promote what the Engliſh toleration had began; the facility of gaining the miniſters, the pretenſions to places and employments, and the deſire of enjoying the privileges of a citizen, would do the reſt. "I predict to "France all the calamities that laid it waſte "in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, if "ever it relaxes any of the ſevere, but juſt and "wiſe laws, with reſpect to the Proteſtants," was the ſentiment of the Jeſuits conveyed to the public in 1756, by the abbe de Caverac: that is to ſay, it would have been neceſſary to baniſh all the Pariſians, becauſe under Charles V. they were Maillotins, Armagnacs under Charles VI. Leaguers under Henry IV. and Frondeurs under Louis XIV. This juſt ſeverity, might the apologizer for the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew have ſaid, would have prevented the ills which laid France waſte in thoſe unhappy periods. But an enlightened policy has in thoſe circumſtances the ſame reſources as phyſic; by remedies and patience they get the better of the diſorder, preſerving the patient, and at laſt reſtoring his firſt vigour; to continue the compariſon, the recalling of the Proteſtants would be a miracle like that of the reſurrection. Oriental deſpotiſm could never ſecure its conqueſts otherwiſe than by depriving the ſubdued provinces of their inhabitants; Roman policy attached them to the empire by the tye of brotherhood, which is eſtabliſhed between them and its own citizens; it awed them by force only at critical junctures; theſe being over the conquered became friends, fellow-citizens, and brothers of the victor. Such was the the iſſue of the ſocial war; a war as alarming by its circumſtances and its objects, as by the miſchiefs which it threatened.

threatened. Thus has France acted with regard to the Jeſuits: they were dangerous only by their union; ſhe contented herſelf with diſuniting them, and condemning the inſtitution which bound them; ſhe has baniſhed only thoſe, who, preferring an artificial to their native country, may juſtly indulge the complaints which Virgil puts into the mouths of the Greeks, who were thrown upon the coaſts of Italy after the ſiege of Troy *. But let us now return to our French Refugees: happening one day to croſs a pariſh church, I fell in with a crowd of women, one of whom attacked me very briſkly upon the ſeverity of France to the Proteſtants, to which body moſt of theſe women belonged; after having ſolemnly aſſured her, that I had no ſhare nor influence in the conduct of which ſhe complained, I took occaſion to enquire into the cauſe of that numerous meeting; ſhe anſwered me with an aukward baſhfulneſs, that the pariſh that day diſtributed the alms of the month; that the charity of the Engliſh was the ſource of that ſucceſs with which God bleſſed all their undertakings; that he would always look with an eye of anger upon a kingdom which had cut off its arms and legs to deliver up the remainder to the Jeſuits; that even French people found themſelves under a neceſſity of praying to God againſt France in favour of England: in fine, that every Frenchman, who did not do his utmoſt to open the eyes of Lewis XVth to the political and religious reaſons which ſhould

* Quicunque Iliacos bello violavimus agros,
Supplicia et faſtûs pœnas expendimus omnes,
Vel Priamo miſeranda manus.
Virg Æneid. l. ii. 255.

determine

determine him to reſtore the edict of Nantes, partook of the guilt, for which ſhe aſſured me, Lewis the XIVth, and all the Jeſuits, were burning in hell-fire. Several women, all of whom ſpoke French, joined in the converſation: I could not get out of their clutches till I had aſſured them, that, at my departure from Paris, I heard it poſitively affirmed that a reſolution had been taken in council, to give free leave to all the French Refugees, that thought proper, to return to France: the affairs of Calas had entered into this converſation; thoſe women were acquainted with every circumſtance of it: they looked upon it as an affair of religion; they maintained, that Calas had been ſacrificed through hatred to thoſe of his perſuaſion: they loudly exclaimed, that this cruel farce was played with no other intention but to keep the ſovereign from every view, which might have any tendency to make him recall the Refugees.

QUAKERS.

I ſhall ſay but little of the Quakers, whoſe ſect is ſufficiently known. The Bible, which they explain after a way of their own, is the only book they pay any regard to; and the Holy Ghoſt promiſed to believers by Jeſus Chriſt, is the principal object of their dogma, their devotion, and their confidence. This confidence is ſo great, that they look upon baptiſm as ſuperfluous, excepting when grown perſons are inſpired with the deſire of it by the Holy Ghoſt.

Their meetings bear a great reſemblance to Engliſh clubs, on account of the ſilence and meditation which prevail at thoſe aſſemblies. They enter

enter without the leaſt ceremony, keeping their hats on, and ſeat themſelves without ſaluting or taking the leaſt notice of thoſe preſent; with their hands croſſed upon the heads of their canes, they pray or meditate inwardly, ſwinging their bodies backwards and forwards, after the manner of the German Jews in their ſynagogues. The women take up one ſide of the hall, the bottom of which faces the door, and is occupied by a kind of bench or gallery. I at firſt thought that thoſe I ſaw in this gallery were a ſort of prieſts and rabbies; but I was given to underſtand that they all ſpread themſelves indiſcriminately, and that there are neither prieſts, miniſters, or preſidents, at their aſſemblies.

Every Quaker preaches as ſoon as the ſpirit moves him: the ſpirit moves even the women themſelves, and then they hold forth. Theſe inſpirations are not fixed or regular: during two hours that I paſſed in a Quakers Meeting, at the firſt time of my viſiting them, nobody preached; one old man roſe, looked about the hall, puffed and blowed a good deal, and then ſat down without ſaying a word. The ſecond time I had better luck: he that ſat oppoſite to me, finding the ſpirit move him, on a ſudden roſe, turned towards the aſſembly, and, after long blowing his breath on my face, ſpoke for about half an hour; all his expreſſions were interrupted by new puffing and blowing, with his eyes ſhut, and his hands in his ſleeves; he had the air and tone of man that walks in his ſleep *.

* He put me in mind of ſiſter Margaret, whom I had heard preach at Paris in the ſame tone, at an aſſembly of Convulſionaries, in which one Abbe Couru ſat as preſident.

After

After about a quarter of an hour's ſilence, he again reſumed the thread of his diſcourſe; I was informed, at quitting the aſſembly, that his ſubject was the keeping holy the Sabbath-day, and that it was made up of the moſt low and trivial common-place ſtuff.

At another meeting, where were a great number of foreigners of all countries, an old Quaker took for the ſubject of his diſcourſe, 1. The inutility and vanity of all modes of worſhip invented by men to do honour to the Divinity. 2. The excellence of adoration in ſpirit and truth, which Jeſus Chriſt came to bring upon earth.

I heard no women preach: the beauty of moſt of the ſex, ſet off by Engliſh neatneſs, is farther heightened by the ſimplicity of their dreſs; their linen, their robes, their hats, are all plain, without any ſort of ornament: this does not prevent ſuch as are rich (and almoſt all of them are ſo) from wearing the fineſt linen, and being very particular in the choice of their ſtuffs, which are, however of modeſt colours. The firſt time that I went to one of their meetings, within the precincts of Weſtminſter-abbey, being perplexed with a very puzzling direction that had been given me, I ſhewed it to a woman whom I happened to meet in my way to Charing-croſs; ſhe read it, and by ſigns intimated to me that ſhe was going thither herſelf: I offered her my arm, ſhe accepted it, and we arrived at the meeting, where ſhe took her place, and ſhewed me where I might be ſeated.

I had been told that the Quakers wore no buttons to their coats or their hats; but I ſaw ſeveral of them with that ornament; I obſerved, however, that thoſe whom I heard preach, and who, in all probability, are the leaders of the

ſect, in that article obſerved all the rigour of the primitive inſtitution: the privation of that ornament is, doubtleſs, a point of ſtrict duty.

They retain all the averſion with which they were inſpired by the firſt founders of the ſect, from the effuſion of human blood. In conſequence of this antipathy to bloodſhed, they for a long time refuſed to contribute in Penſylvania to the levies of men and money in the laſt war, for the defence of that colony: they have even obtained an exemption from the national militia eſtabliſhed in England. It was, notwithſtanding, a Briton of that ſect *, who formed, in 1758, the project of reducing the French ſettlements in Senegal; it is true the expedition, directed by the Quaker, was executed, according to his plan, without any effuſion of blood.

With regard to probity, and all the ſocial virtues upon which their religion is founded, the Quakers have always kept up to their firſt reputation. Their number is, notwithſtanding, every day upon the decreaſe: many cauſes contribute to this, 1. Their children forſake a religion which incapacitates them for all places and public employments. 2. The ſame reaſon prevents them from making proſelytes. 3. The toleration ſhewn them, prevents them from having that obſtinacy, which, amongſt ſectaries, is the uſual effect of perſecution. 4. In fine, of all the religions invented by men, Quakeriſm is the only one which has, both in theory and practice, excluded the ſpirit of domineering. If that ſect ſtill continues to ſubſiſt, it muſt be, (as may be concluded from the pleaſantry which is to terminate this article) for the reaſon on

* Mr. Thomas Cumming. T.

which

which Pope Sixtus the Vth founded his prediction of the impending ruin of a ſect, that had taken for its baſis the moſt rigorous continence *.

The Quakers have neither pictures nor images at their meetings. They, however, have in their houſes, certain prints, relative to the objects of their devotion. Happening to be ſtopt in a remote part of London by a heavy ſhower, I entered the firſt porch I ſaw, where a man, opening a door, invited me to enter his chamber: this perſon was a Quaker; the chamber was adorned with a large print, which appeared to be lately engraved, and diſcovered great elegance: it repreſented a large oak; in the midſt of its leaves was ſeen the Holy Ghoſt in the form of a dove, devils ſawed the tree at the root, all the north-winds let looſe at once beat upon its ſummit, and ſavage beaſts ſeemed to wait the fall of the tree, in order to devour the dove. The owner told me, that this allegory repreſented the ſtate of the ſoul in this life.

If this ſect does not fall of itſelf, and periſh by an imperceptible decay, ſooner or later ſome hypocrite availing himſelf of the general prepoſſeſſion in favour of the Quakers, will, by ſome flagrant act of diſhoneſty, make that ſect forfeit its only claim to the public eſteem.

The Quakers have hitherto had but one man of learning † amongſt them; this was a ſchoolmaſter, who having by his own induſtry, made himſelf maſter of the Oriental languages, has lately publiſhed a tranſlation of the Bible from

* 'Non ſi chiava in queſta religione,' ſaid the pope, 'non durera' Confeſſion of Sancy. l. 2. c. v.

† M. Groſley has doubtleſs forgot Robert Barclay; the perſon he means here is Mr. Purver. T.

the original Hebrew, with a commentary, which abounds with obſervations curious and new: I heard this judgement paſſed upon it by divines of the church of England, who were very capable of forming a right eſtimate of its merit.

This ſect, at its origin, had learned votaries, for I think I can diſcover its origin in thoſe prophetantes, who, "about the middle of the laſt century repaired from all parts of Holland, and aſſembled on the firſt Sunday of every month at Warmont, in the neighbourhood of Leyden, where they paſſed that whole day in reading the ſcripture, propoſing their difficulties, and uſing the liberty of propheſying, that is to ſay the exerciſe of reaſon, as far as it is allowed by the goſpel." But they are, adds Sorbiere, a Society of very worthy perſons, moſt of whom underſtand both the Greek and Hebrew. They differ from the Remonſtrants only in obſerving a more ſtrict diſcipline with regard to war, which they totally proſcribe and condemn *. Sorbiere had viſited Holland in 1642.

The Quakers are the ſubject of frequent raillery, both in converſation and writing; this makes but little impreſſion upon them. When I was leaving London, a piece of humour, levelled at their ſect, and juſt then publiſhed, was put into my hand: it was a printed ſheet adorned with a wooden cut, repreſenting their meeting-houſe at Weſtminſter; and contained a ſermon, ſaid to be preached by a Quaker, upon an indecent adventure, which the writer ſuppoſes to have happened to one of the moſt zealous of the brethren. This ſermon I looked upon as a ſpecimen of Engliſh humour, and a

* Sorberiana.

proof

proof of the charity of the Engliſh to thoſe of every perſuaſion differing from their own.

MORAVIANS*.

I was indebted to chance for a diſcovery of the Moravians, and the place where they hold their aſſemblies; a place fitted up by the count of Zinzendorf, founder of that ſect. I often took an airing to Chelſea, a delightful place, greatly frequented in the ſummer on account of its ſituation on the Thames, and a conſiderable number of handſome buildings. As I was walking one day through this village, I was joined by a man who had the appearance of a creditable tradeſman; he aſked me in French where I was going, offered me his ſervices, and accompanied me to ſir Richard Glyn's garden. In our way thither, he enquired of me about ſeveral Pariſians; I knew many of them, and had it in my power to ſatisfy his curioſity. During the courſe of this converſation, we paſſed by a houſe which made a very elegant appearance: my conductor aſked me, whether I knew this houſe, and if I had a fancy to ſee the inſide of it? I anſwered him in the affirmative. I live here, ſaid he; and you ſhall ſee it when we come back: accordingly, at our return, he rung the bell, when a ſervant opened the door to him with the utmoſt reſpect, and he introduced me into a handſome hall, which led to a very large ſtair-caſe; the wainſcot of that ſtair-caſe was covered with paintings, the oddity of which engaged my attention. Here ſtood a Negro, dreſſ-

* See Remarks on this Article in the Appendix to Vol. II. T.

ed in a white ſhirt, which fell down to his feet; there was repreſented a ſtorm, with a ſhipwreck and a man ſaving himſelf upon a rock, expecting relief from a diſtant boat; in another piece was the figure of a man preaching to the poor ſlaves in Africa, who were infected with the plague. After I had gazed ſome time at theſe pictures, we arrived at the apartment of the firſt ſtory, conſiſting of a ſweep of ſeven chambers, all wainſcoted, lighted with large windows and neatly furniſhed. I had been informed that this houſe had been built and furniſhed by the count Zinzendorf, of pious memory, to ſerve as a meeting-houſe to the Moravian brethren, a ſociety founded by that nobleman: he ſhewed me the apartment which had been occupied by the religious founder, this was on the third floor; over the chimney of one of the rooms on the firſt floor was the picture of an ancient duke of Saxony, from whom count Zinzendorf's lady was ſaid to be deſcended.

On the third floor I found one half of it occupied by a large chamber, which had a harpſichord with ſome benches and ſtools, and a table covered with red cloth; over this table a piece of the ſame ſort of cloth, which hung from the cieling, formed a kind of canopy; all the pannels of the wainſcot were covered with names painted in red letters, "Theſe, ſaid the per-"ſon who introduced me, are the names of "the children of God moſt known ſince the "creation of the world." The firſt of theſe names were in gold embrowned, and, as it were, ſmoaked, a diſtinction relative, no doubt, to the way of thinking of the Moravians with regard to the Old Teſtament: the next pannels preſented to my view the names of the moſt eminent perſons of the Greek and Latin churches;

St.

St. Bernard, Peter de Blois, and John of Saliſbury, make a figure amongſt thoſe of the middle age; amongſt the moderns I read thoſe of Mademoiſelle Schuman, Madame de Chantal, M. de Fenelon, Madame Dannican, wife to the attorney general of the parliament of Rennes in Bretagne, laſtly that of cardinal de Noailles, for whom M. de Zinzendorf had a great eſteem, ſo as to take the liberty of writing to him, in 1720, concerning his change of ſtyle in the affair of the conſtitution: no Jeſuit makes a figure amongſt 'theſe children of God.'

The extremity of this apartment preſents to the view two doors, over one of which is written, 'Alleluia,' and over the other, 'Miſerere 'mei, Deus;' this, as I was told, compriſed the ſentiments of the Chriſtian in every act of life, which ſhould at once be an object of fear and thankſgiving.

We paſſed from thence upon a terras, which was the whole length of the houſe; the led with which it was covered coſt 1200 guineas, for the materials and the workmanſhip; from thence we had one of the moſt beautiful, moſt varied, and moſt extenſive proſpects in England. At the back of this houſe is a church-yard and a pretty large chapel.

This building ſeems to be a houſe of probation, or place of retreat. The Moravians have a meeting houſe in London, near Fetter-lane, where I aſſiſted at their ſervice; it is intermixed with canticles, the muſic of which is very agreeable; both the canticles and the pſalmody are accompanied by the organ, after the German manner. M. de Zinzendorf juſtly thought that he might thus enliven an exerciſe which he conſidered as a fore-taſte of that eternal employment of the children of God. In the middle

of the ſervice a preacher aſcended the pulpit: of all the men I had ever heard ſpeak in public in London, either in the pulpit or in the two houſes of parliament, this Moravian miniſter is the only perſon that appeared to me to have the tone, the geſture, and the action of an orator; I was aſſured that the excellence of the diſcourſe was anſwerable to that of the manner in which it was delivered.

I ſhall now lay before the reader the beſt account I could get concerning the tenets and rites of this ſect.

They conſider the Old Teſtament only as a pious, edifying, and allegorical hiſtory; in a word, as a ſhade which gives a new luſtre to the brilliant day of the goſpel.

The religion of the church of England, and that of all the Chriſtian communions which acknowledge the goſpel, are equal in their eyes; God, ſay they, has in all theſe communions children whom he knows; to love God and to love their brethren, is the characteriſtic of the children of God, a characteriſtic independent of all theological ſyſtems.

They look upon baptiſm as an article eſſentially neceſſary. With regard to the holy ſacrament, I could not diſcover that they think like Catholics, Lutherans, or Calviniſts. They aſſemble to communicate: the Euchariſt is diſtributed to all preſent; at a certain ſignal they all communicate at the ſame inſtant, and then, as I have been told, they are to ſuch a degree inflamed, ſo abſorbed and wrapt in the Deity, that, full of the effect of this ineffable myſtery, they never think of examining in what manner it operates.

Theſe

Theſe raptures, this communication with God, &c. made an article of the religion invented by the latter Platonic philoſophers: "I have "been ſo happy," ſaid Porphyry, one of that ſect, in the life of Plato, "as to approach the "Deity, and unite myſelf to him." "This "union, adds he, was the ſole object of the "deſire of Plato; he four times had the happineſs of this enjoyment whilſt I lived with "him; what paſſes at that time within us is "ineffable."

The chief object of the external worſhip of theſe enthuſiaſts is the wound which our Saviour received in his ſide upon the croſs: the figure of this wound contributes, in ſome meaſure, to the ſcandalous imputations laid to their charge, of which I ſhall hereafter give the reader an account. This object of worſhip ſeems, at the ſame time to bear a ſtrong reſemblance and even to be confounded with the 'devotion 'to the ſacred heart,' invented in France by Mary Alacoque, countenanced by the Jeſuits, celebrated by the biſhops who were moſt devoted to that cauſe, conſecrated by the famous life of its inſtitutreſs, an account of which monſieur Languet has given the public, and finally eſtabliſhed as a party diſtinction by the uncommunicating clergy.

Marriage, amongſt the Moravians, is a ſacrament, as I have been told, almoſt as ineffable as the Euchariſt; they never contract it without adviſing with the principal perſonages of their ſect: without this advice, the inclination of the contracting parties is looked upon as a ſnare of Satan. Now one would preſume, that it is determined only by the moſt compleat knowledge of the character of the parties, and

that the ſame integrity and purity of intention have place on this occaſion, as are uſed by fathers of families in affairs of this nature. The views of young Moravians called to the marriage-ſtate are not leſs pure; they look upon conjugal duty as the moſt important function of rational creatures, either in the order of nature, or in that of religion. Who would not be of the ſame way of thinking, ſaid my conductor, with the air of a man moſt deeply affected, if he reflects that he is upon the point of giving exiſtence to a man, who will either be an honour and conſolation, or the diſgrace and ſhame of his family, of ſociety, and of religion? With regard to myſelf, ſaid he, I received a wife from the hands of count Zinzendorf as I would have taken one from God himſelf: I knew nothing of her perſon, her fortune, her family, or the country where ſhe was born, and in which ſhe lived: God has given his benediction to our union; and in this ſtate I have already found, and find every day, an anticipated paradiſe.

The Moravians are ſaid to live in common, like the firſt faithful of Jeruſalem. They bring into a general heap all they earn, and take out of it only what is abſolutely neceſſary for their private uſe. They are very good artificers; they work, they ſave money, in order to have the pleaſure of making charitable donations by the hands of the chief directors; and their benevolence is not confined to their own ſect. Such of them as are opulent or in eaſy circumſtances, and above the claſs of working people, bring into the common collection, not the whole of their ſubſtance, but very conſiderable alms.

Miſſions are the greateſt object of the common expence: thoſe to Africa furniſhed the ſubject

ject of ſome of the pictures which I had ſeen upon the ſtair-caſe. Count Zinzendorf conſidered miſſions as the moſt important articles of his apoſtleſhip; he had made two voyages to America. To mix ſomething miraculous with thoſe expeditions, I have been informed, that in a converſation with the earl of Cheſterfield, he aſſured that nobleman, upon his honour, and by his Maker, that he had made the paſſage from Plymouth to Boſton in ſeven days. Their African miſſions are likewiſe ſaid to be accompanied by miracles.

The community of goods eſtabliſhed amongſt the Moravians, and the extraordinary principles which they have adopted with regard to marriage, have occaſioned people to charge them with practiſing in their aſſemblies the 'vagus concubitus,' of which certain grave authors have accuſed moſt of the heretics, ancient as well as modern *: the primitive Chriſtians were

* The heretics of the twelfth century, known by the appellations of Patarins, Vaudois, Albigeois, &c. were generally accuſed of this infamous practice, though all their external conduct diſcovered the moſt zealous attachment to purity. I find, in this reſpect, a very remarkable fact mentioned by father Picart, in his notes upon the twelfth chapter of William of Newbury's hiſtory, taken from the manuſcript of Raoul, monk of Clogher in Ireland. I ſhall here cite the paſſage, by way of extract, in the very words of the Iriſh monk.

'Cum dominus Gulielmus (William of Champagne) 'Remorum urbis archiepiſcopus, cum clericis ſuis, 'ſpatiandi gratiâ, obequitaret, quidam ex dictis cle-'ricis, ſcilicet magiſter Tilleberienſis, videns quan-'dam puellam in vineis ſolam deambulantem, lu-'bricæ juventutis curioſitate ductus divertit ad eam, 'ſicat

ſicat ab ore ejus didicimus poſtea, cum canonicus eſſet. Quam ſalutans, et unde et cujus eſſet filia, et quidnam ibi ſola faceret, diligentèr inquirens, cum ejus pulchritudinem diutius attendiſſet, hanc tandem de amore laſcivo curialiter affatur. Cui illa ſimplici et quâdam verborum gravitate reſpondit, vix juvenem reſpicere volens: Nunquam velit Deus, ô bone adoleſcens, ut tua amica ſive alicujus hominis exiſtam; quia ſi virginitatem amiſiſſem, et caro mea ſemel corrupta eſſet, æternùm damnationi proculdubio ſubjacerem.' Quod audiens Magnus Gervaſius, intellexit ſubitò hanc eſſe de impuriſſima illâ ſectâ publicanorum (ſic dicti a populando) qui tum ubique exquirebantur et perimebantur.—Dum itaque dictus clericus cùm puellâ de tali reſponſo confutando altercaretur, ſupervenit archiepiſcopus cum ſuis, qui controverſiæ cauſam agnoſcens, juſſit puellam comprehendi et ſecum in urbem adduci. Quam coram clericis alloquens et plures auctoritates ac rationum argumenta proponens, reſpondit illa, ſe nequaquam ſatis fuiſſe inſtructam ut tantas objectiones poſſet refellere, ſed habere ſe quandam magiſtram in urbe, quæ facile omnes objectiones refelleret. Illâ etiam comprehenſâ—cum utrarumque mentes obſtinatæ, nec minis nec blanditiis nec allegationibus nec ſcripturarum auctoritate, ab erroribus revocari poſſent—communi conſilio decretum eſt ut flammis concremarentur; et jam igne accenſo, cum jam ad pœnam trahi deberent, ait erroris magiſtra: Inſenſati et judices injuſti! creditiſne quòd me veſtro igne cremabitis?—Et hæc dicens concitè glomum fili extrahit, et extra quandam magnam feneſtram projecit, capite fili in manibus retento, & voce ſonorâ dixit: RECIPE. Ad quod verbum mox a terris elevata, glomum agili volatu, cunctis aſpicientibus, extra feneſtram ſubſecuta eſt.—Puella autem cum remanſiſſet—igne conſumpta eſt, non ſine admiratione multorum, cum nulla ſuſpiria, nullos fletus, nullum planctum emitteret, ſed omne flagrantis incendii tormentum conſtanter

were themſelves ſuſpected of it by the Pagans *; but the imputations of jealouſy, hatred, and above all the hatred of divines, never amounted to a proof; beſides, is it natural that a man, however corrupt he may be ſuppoſed, ſhould give himſelf up to licentiouſneſs and debauchery through a principle of religion?

Univerſal benevolence to all mankind is one of the firſt principles of the Moravian brethren. Hence it is that, my conductor talked to me concerning the affair of the unfortunate Calas with the tendereſt emotion imaginable: he afterwards ſpoke in the ſame ſtrain concerning the baniſhment of the Jeſuits from France; "they "are men, ſaid he, they ſuffer, we pray to "God to relieve, and to preſerve them from all "unjuſt oppreſſion."

After having ſhewn me the whole houſe, he led me into an apartment remarkable for its elegant ſimplicity; the farther room was occupied by a tall woman of an engaging mien, who, as ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw me, roſe and ſaluted me in French. "Here, ſaid my conductor, is the "angel given to me by count Zinzendorf.' She ſeemed to be of the ſame age with her huſband, and was born at Neufchatel in Switzerland. With the air and the deportment of a perſon of ſolidity, ſhe aſked me about the news at Paris, and anſwered all the queſtions I propoſed to her concerning the Moravians. Dur-

'ſtanter et alacriter perferret—Sic iſti virginitatem 'prædicant, in operimentum ſuæ turpitudinis, &c. '&c. This paſſage requires no commentary.

* The Jews fell under the ſame ſuſpicion. 'Pro-'jectiſſimi ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu 'abſtinent: inter ſe nihil illicitum.' Tacit. l. v. initio.

ing.

ing our converſation, her huſband got us ſome wine; we drank to each other's good health, and to all our friends; and I promiſed to pay them another viſit before I left London. As I was going away, a coach ſtopped at the door, and there alighted from it a lady as reſpectable for her age as her deportment: it was the counteſs of H—, one of the firſt women of quality in England; ſhe came to edify in the company of the huſhand and wife, whom I was juſt leaving.

It is unneceſſary to inform the reader that theſe diſciples place count Zinzendorf in the firſt claſs of the children of God. I have ſeen the portrait of this apoſtle: he is repreſented with a great leather cap, which covers his ears; and his countenance has a mixture of zeal and authority, becoming the founder of a ſect.

The Engliſh in general have but little eſteem for the Moravians; they look upon them as dupes to their chiefs, who abuſe religion to acquire over them that empire, as abſolute as lucrative, which the Jeſuits found means to eſtabliſh over the Americans of Paraguay.

Their ſect alſo took the name of Herrenhutters, from the little town of Herrenhut, in Upper Luſatia, all the inhabitants of which were won over to that perſuaſion by count Zinzendorf. In this manner Plato ſaw his republic realized in a town, the police of which he regulated, according to his own principles; but human paſſions, which it had been his aim to deſtroy, ſoon reſumed their firſt aſcendant. They will, doubtleſs, do the ſame in the town of Herrenhut. The church of Jeruſalem, though directed by the apoſtles, and harraſſed by perſecutions, ſoon relaxed the rigid princi-

ples

ples upon which it had been founded by St. Peter.

The Moravians have ſome conſiderable eſtabliſhments in Holland. The young girls who are brought together by theſe inſtitutions, though they work in common under the inſpection of their ſuperiors and the public, occaſion much talk. One of theſe houſes had for its chief a French adventurer, named James le Long, whoſe knaveries, for which he was expelled the Moravian church, did not in the leaſt contribute to raiſe its reputation.

It has ſome odd principles, which can be only ſurmiſed from the perplexed and enigmatical manner in which the adepts of the ſect explain themſelves. They, doubtleſs, make a myſtery of them to the bulk of their communion; many forſake them, either of their own accord, or becauſe they are diſmiſſed the very moment that they prove wanting to the firſt virtue of the Moravians, which their chiefs maintain to conſiſt in an implicit ſubmiſſion to their orders, their advice, and even their leaſt ſigns.

METHODISTS.

THE ſame ſpirit prevails in the ſect of the Methodiſts: its origin is recent, and its founder, Mr. Whitfield, is very lately dead. This eſtabliſhment has borne all the perſecutions that it could poſſibly apprehend in a country as much diſpoſed to perſecution as England is the reverſe. It was not indeed firſt formed in a covert way, or in obſcurity: Mr. Whitfield had choſen ſome public ſituations in and about London for the ſcene of his preaching; the aim of which was, the reformation of manners and the reſtoration

of

of the dogma of grace, enervated and disfigured by Arminianiſm, which has imperceptibly crept into the church of England. The miniſters of the eſtabliſhed religion did their utmoſt to baffle the new preacher: they preached againſt him, repreſented him to the people as a fanatic, a viſionary, &c. &c. in fine, they oppoſed him with ſo much ſucceſs, that they cauſed him to be pelted with ſtones in every place where he opened his mouth to the public. He perſevered notwithſtanding, and made proſelytes; the number of theſe, and the conſtancy of their chief, dazzled the eyes of the populace; the indignation which they had been inſpired with, gave way to curioſity; and Mr. Whitfield at laſt ſucceeded ſo far as to preach undiſturbed in Moorfields, a large open place near the city, the extent of which was ſcarcely more than ſufficient to hold the prodigious concourſe of auditors who crowded to his ſermons.

Having aſſociated to himſelf aſſiſtants, he formed a church, where we find all the fervor of devotion which generally characteriſes new ſects. The members of this church have cauſed a place of worſhip to be erected, by the name of the tabernacle, in the neighbourhood of Moorfields, where the ſociety took birth *; and another, of late years, in Tottenham-court-road.

* This ſituation is in one of the pleaſanteſt parts of London. The methodiſts prefer to lodge in the houſes built near the tabernacle. Thus while the French fanatics, called the Convulſioners, think and talk of nothing elſe but the approaching ruin of Paris, the Methodiſts act more ſenſibly, by contributing to the increaſe and improvement of London.

Its

Its liturgy is that of the church of England, interlarded with certain hymns, compoſed to airs agreeable enough, by Mr. Whitfield, poet to the new church: by means of theſe hymns, the ſervice is of a length proportioned to the fervor of the congregation.

The Methodiſt church conſiſts almoſt wholly of tradeſmen, and people of the lower ſort: nothing can be more edifying than their behaviour, their ſinging, and their attention to the ſermon. This attention is kept up, and, as it were, warmed by the frequent ſighs which iſſue every moment from the ſeveral parts of the tabernacle, and which echo to each other.

At one of theſe ſervices chance placed me next to the young man who, in my firſt rambling through London, was ſo kind as to do me the office of guide the whole length of Oxford-road: he continued to behave to me with the ſame politeneſs, and procured me a book of hymns; he appeared to be one of the moſt devout in the whole aſſembly. If this politeneſs has its ſource in the doctrines of the new church, the nation muſt be the better for its ſpreading.

The preacher, who had a clergyman's gown on, with black gloves, and a white handkerchief, preached with continued ſighs and groans, and all the air and tone of a fanatic. His diſcourſe was interrupted by exclamations oh! oh! which were repeated every inſtant. I thought it was Mr. Whitfield himſelf; but I was given to underſtand that he was then in America, labouring in the vineyard of the Lord, and that the preacher whom I then heard was one of his firſt American proſelytes: this was Mr. Whitfield's third voyage.

Hell

Hell is the favourite topic of the Methodiſt preachers, who, as we are told, contribute thereby to people Bedlam. They likewiſe inſiſt greatly upon the ſpirit and faith, which, according to them, is alone ſufficient to juſtification and eternal ſalvation.

To the tabernacle, as I have already obſerved, is joined a church-yard, in which the dead have epitaphs in the ancient taſte, that is to ſay, of the greateſt ſimplicity imaginable. Some principal perſons of the ſect are buried in the tabernacle itſelf, with epitaphs, which contain elogiums more extenſive.

While ſervice is performing, many of the women ſit promiſcuouſly among the men, juſt as they do at the pariſh churches. The leading miniſters of this ſect are ſaid to be very opulent. The Methodiſts, as well as Moravians, depoſit in the hands of their chiefs a part of their daily gains, reſerving to themſelves only what is abſolutely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; and the fund ariſing from theſe ſums thus depoſited by the community, ſupplies alms for the poor, money to build churches, to pay the ſalaries of their clergy, and to defray the expence of miſſions. Such was the primitive deſtination of tythes and of all ſorts of eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, adminiſtered at their firſt origin by perſons, who, entertaining too good an opinion of human nature, have led their ſucceſſors into a temptation to which they muſt inevitably yield.

This method of living in common was the firſt law which the primitive faithful of Jeruſalem enjoined themſelves; but whether it was owing to the details of œconomy being below ſouls ſo ſublime as thoſe of the apoſtles, or to ſome more Judas's having got among the directors

tors appointed to ſuperintend the new adminiſtration, the church of Jeruſalem was ſoon reduced to depend upon the charity of thoſe churches which had not adopted the cuſtom of having all things in common *.

Upon a view of the ſects eſtabliſhed in England, Sorbiere ſaid, in 1663, "Why ſhould "we French be ſurprized at the infatuation "which firſt formed and ſtill keeps them up? "we have a long time wrangled and diſputed "upon nothing; namely, whether five propoſitions are to be found in a book or not? and "this diſpute ſufficiently evinces that we are "not ourſelves free from extravagance, ambition, and obſtinacy †."

FREETHINKERS.

Catholics, Church of England men, Puritans, Moravians, Methodiſts, &c. all make one common cauſe againſt a ſect which every day gains ground, I mean Freethinking, whoſe ſource has been thus traced by the great Boſſuet. "The minds of men, thrown into a violent "agitation, and falling from one precipice to "another, have ſplit into a multiplicity of ſects, "in the midſt of which many perſons, wearied "out with ſuch a multitude of abſurd chimeras, and no longer able to diſcover any majeſty in a religion thus torn to pieces, ſeek for "reſt in a perfect indifference to all perſuaſions."

Atheiſm was a word of a vague and indeterminate ſignification, before the Sorbonne had

* Acts Apoſt. c. iv. vi. xii. &c.
† Voyage to England, p. 60.

claſſed

claſſed the Atheieſts, Theiſts, Deiſts, &c. * As for downright Atheiſts, if ever there were any ſuch, we ſhould look for them among the Mahomets, the Hildebrands, the Guiſes, the Cromwells, and amongſt thoſe men of all ages and countries, who, making a jeſt of God, and of the notion of the Deity imprinted upon the hearts of men, have abuſed it, in order to raiſe their fortune, and to lay the foundation of a greatneſs generally cemented with the blood of their fellow creatures.

The ſacred names of God, religion, conſcience, church, and public good, occaſioned all the ſucceſs of the moſt atrocious attempts of thoſe men of blood. In the very moment that ſentence of death was going to be pronounced againſt Charles the Firſt, when the commiſſioners refuſed to hear him: he told them, "that "he wiſhed they had God before their eyes." "Yes, ſir," anſwered Bradſhaw, preſident of the high commiſſion, and Cromwell's chief tool, "yes, ſir, we have before our eyes God, the "King of kings, and Lord of lords; God "who excepts no man's perſon, God the aven-"ger of innocent blood, God who pours down "his curſes upon thoſe who ſpare the blood of "criminals, which he has condemned: yes, "ſir, God and our conſciences call us to this "place, and to this auguſt function; and it re-"mains only for us to wiſh, as we do with all "our hearts, that God would give you perfect "contrition and repentance of your ſins, and "that he would be pleaſed to ſhew his mercy at

* Theſe two laſt claſſes, are confounded in England with the Socinians, and known by the common name of Free-thinkers.

"leaſt

" leaſt to the beſt part of you; for with regard " to the other part, ſir, we find ourſelves under " a neceſſity of doing as the law directs *."

Theſe commiſſioners paſſed the Sunday after their firſt ſitting, in faſting and prayer, and hearing a ſermon in the chapel of Whitehall, from nine o'clock in the morning, till four in the afternoon; and they ſpent in the ſame devout exerciſes the whole Sunday which preceded the pronouncing of judgment.

I have already mentioned the ſermon preached by Cromwell himſelf, upon the text of St. Paul: 'Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimiori-'bus ſubjecta ſit.'

The Freethinkers have given a new extent to the ſpirit of toleration, to which the political athieſt is a declared enemy. This ſpirit, which was the chief foundation of the grandeur of the Romans, is at preſent the ſource of that of Holland and England. From theſe two countries aroſe its firſt apoſtles †. To this ſpirit the Roman Catholics are indebted for the peace and quietneſs which they enjoy under both theſe governments. In the main, every Roman Catholic, whether Engliſh or Dutch, looking upon all his countrymen who are out of the pale of the church, as damned, ſhould wiſh them rather to damn themſelves as Freethinkers without joining any perſecuting ſect, than as untolerating ſectaries. In fine, free-thinking is, in a free ſtate, an aſylum open to thoſe who, in other

* Summary of the trial of Charles the Firſt, printed at Paris in 1650, in quarto, p. 38, 44, and 77.

† Herbert, baron of Cherbury, was one of theſe firſt apoſtles, See his works, intituled, 'De veritate '& de cauſes errorum.'

countries,

countries, are obliged to have recourſe to the maſk of hypocriſy: now this free-thinking has, perhaps, conſequences leſs dangerous than hypocriſy, with regard to public morals.

Thoſe who in England are ſupported by the wealth of the church, not having it decently in their power to be deiſts in an abſolute ſenſe, are ſo in certain reſpects. Socinus, as I have already obſerved, has a great many followers, both amongſt the clergy of the church of England and the Puritans. Cardinal du Perron uſed to ſay, "In England they were very much em-"barraſſed to convince an Arrian of his errors "by paſſages out of ſcripture: he put them all "to a nonplus, and they could not ſucceed in "converting him; ſo they ordered him to be "burned alive. We cannot, added the cardi-"nal, confute an Arian by ſcripture: that is "to be done only by the authority of the church. "Calviniſm, ſaid the ſame cardinal, will at "laſt degenerate into Mahometaniſm. From "Luther came Calvin, and from Calvin the "new Arians, who endeavour to reconcile "Chriſtianity with Mahometaniſm; and it is "much to be feared, that one day the northern "countries of Poland, Sweden, Denmark, &c. "will renounce the Chriſtian religion *."

Cardinal du Perron went beyond the mark, if he underſtood any thing elſe by Mahometaniſm, beſides a religion in which Chriſt ſhould be looked upon only in the ſame light as Mahomet is at preſent by the Muſulmen. He likewiſe forgot or neglected to reckon Arminianiſm amongſt the ſteps which have led to Socinianiſm: Arminius, reducing the neceſſity of a mediator

* Peronniana, at the words Arius and Socinus.

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by weakening original ſin, has opened to the Proteſtants the road traced out by Molina to Harduin, to Berruyer, &c.

The Socinians, the Deiſts, &c. enjoy every ſort of liberty in London, that of the preſs not excepted. The caſe was very different at the beginning of the laſt century: James I. forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, the bringing over Vanini's works to England; and the clergy, entering into the views of the ſovereign, compoſed a prayer of the liturgy, which ſtill makes a part of it; they pray to God to preſerve England from the infection of irreligion.

JEWS.

The Jews conſider the Deiſts and Socinians only as men who make an approach to the kingdom of heaven, by drawing forwards to the excluſive adoration of the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. This was a ſpeech which I heard from a Jew, whom I happened to ſit near at the ſynagogue, which that opulent nation has in the eaſtern part of London.

The Jews who aſſemble here are Portugueze and Spaniards: they behave with all the pride of Spaniards to the German Jews, whom they look upon as vile remains of the tribe of Benjamin. With regard to themſelves, they affirm that they are deſcended from the tribes which Nebuchadnezzar had tranſplanted to the banks of the Euphrates: the Arabian califs, becoming maſters of Aſia, extended their conqueſt by degrees to Spain, where ſeveral Jewiſh families came to eſtabliſh houſes of commerce, and where they have multiplied to ſuch a degree, that, if we may believe them, all the families, both in Spain

Spain and Portugal, moſt diſtinguiſhed for noble birth or opulence, are of Jewiſh extraction *.

Theſe Jewiſh families, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, found means to compromiſe matters with it. For money and the external conformity to the Chriſtian religion, the inquiſitors winked at them: they vented their rage only againſt thoſe fanatics who were obſtinately bent upon getting themſelves burnt. Tired of ſuch a ſtate of conſtraint, diſguſted with the contempt which accompanied it, and allured by the tolerating ſpirit of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh and Portugeze Jews croſſed the ſeas in great numbers, with immenſe wealth. A deſcendant of Jacob aſſured me, that the number of thoſe who had taken this courſe, from the year 1720 to 1740, might be computed at twenty thouſand.

The great conſideration in which they are held, has emboldened them to claim naturalization in a body: they obtained it in 1752; but the year following the bill was repealed. The two laſt parliaments were entirely taken up with this affair. The matter had been in agitation ever ſince the year 1715, in which Toland publiſhed a work, intituled, Reaſons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland. The author had promiſed to annex to it a tranſlation of a treatiſe written in Italian in the laſt centu-

* The Spaniards and Portugueze warmly defend themſelves from this imputation: they rather chuſe, contrary to all probability, to repreſent themſelves as deſcended from Viſigoth or Arian ſoldiers, than acknowledge the third or fourth of their foreſathers, by whom they are connected with that race, which is doubtleſs the moſt ancient, and of conſequence the nobleſt in the world.

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ry, by a learned Rabbi, named Simon Luzzarato, which was preſented to the ſenate of Venice, in order to render them favourable to the Jews: a treatiſe filled with anecdotes and particulars, as curious as intereſting, concerning the ſtate of the Jewiſh nation.

Aſtoniſhed at not finding at the Engliſh ſynagogue neither thoſe periodical agitations with which the German Jews accompany their prayers, nor the handkerchiefs with which they muffle themſelves up whilſt at their devotions, nor the cries of the rabbies, which the congregation anſwers by loud noiſes that have cauſed the name of Sabbath to be given to the aſſemblies of ſorcerers: I expreſſed my ſurprize to the Jew who had undertaken to be my inſtructor. He ſaid to me, "Light increaſes amongſt us "imperceptibly: we no longer confound Moſes "with Ezechias and Eſdras; we owe to God "adoration, gratitude, and confidence, and "love we owe to our neighbour; the time will "come in which all nations ſhall join in theſe "ſentiments." "Why then do you continue "to make a ſeparate body? ſaid I. Why do "you not embrace the eſtabliſhed religion?" "It is unneceſſary for us, anſwered he, to go "to thoſe who are advancing a pace towards "us, and who will ſoon come up to us; be-"ſides, in ſuch a change, every individual ex-"poſes himſelf to the contempt both of thoſe "who profeſs the religion which he forſakes, "and of the followers of that which he em-"braces." I then aſked him, what was their way of thinking with regard to the Meſſiah, whether they ſtill waited for his coming? and whether upon his arrival at Jeruſalem, all the Jews whom I then ſaw would quit England,

their houſes, their commerce, their wives and children, to go over to Syria, and join him. "They will wait till the report of his coming is "confirmed; till then people of ſenſe will let "thoſe who have nothing to loſe, run after him "as faſt as they think proper."

The famous Huetius, upon his return from Sweden, met at Amſterdam with a good ſort of a Jew, Rabbi Manaſſe-Ben-Iſrael, of the family of the Abarbanels, who was deſcended, or pretended to be deſcended, in a right line from king David *.

The pſalmody of the Engliſh ſynagogue ſurprized me, by the ſweetneſs as well as the agreeable ſimplicity of its modulation. My aſtoniſhment was cauſed by a compariſon of this ſymphony with the vociferation of the German ſynagogues, and even with the church muſic which I had heard in England. "Our ſym-"phony, ſaid my Jewiſh friend, is that which "our anceſtors carried to Babylon, that is to "ſay, that which was uſed in Jeruſalem dur-"ing the moſt brilliant period of our nation. "You know, added he, how little thoſe hap-"py climates are ſubject to the variations of "modes. If our muſic has undergone ſome "change, and received improvement, it was in "thoſe brilliant ages when ſciences and arts, "ſeated upon the throne of the Califs, enlight-"ened an empire in which our nation was reſ-

* 'Mihi profecto videbatur acutè quidem reſpon-'dere, ſed candidè, nec longe abeſſe a viritatis no-'titia: ſi quidem moderatè cum eo, et ratione actum 'eſſet; non, ut fieri ſolet cum hac gente, contu-'melioſe & præfractè.' Huet comm. de rebus ſuis, p. 133.

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" pected for its wealth, and ſupported by the " labours of a number of eminent writers. " Our anceſtors introduced this ſymphony into " Spain; they retained it as ſomething ſacred, " and it is the ſame which you now hear."

Theſe Portugueze and Spaniſh Jews, whilſt they retain the moſt noted names belonging to thoſe two kingdoms, as Pinto, Acoſta, &c. &c. have likewiſe preſerved for Spain, their ancient country, all the ſentiments of affection which men of worth have for the places of their nativity, where they ſtill have their families and relations; differing in this reſpect at leaſt with regard to their manner of talking in public from the French refugees.

The Jews, whilſt they continue attached to England, flatter themſelves, no doubt, that they will never ſee thoſe bloody ſcenes renewed of which their nation was the object, and England the theatre, in the reign of Richard I. ſcenes of which we find a circumſtantial deſcription in the writings of Matthew Paris and William of Newbury. The general indignation of the Engliſh againſt that nation appeared not ſo much to be excited by motives of religion and national jealouſy, as of reſentment and vengeance. Henry the ſecond, the greateſt and moſt abſolute monarch that ever reigned in England, had paſſed his life in conſtant wars. Though war was not then carried on ſo much with money as with men, it gave occaſion to expences, which could not be borne without harraſſing the people with exactions. Now as the Jews, (in whoſe hands all the money affairs of Europe were then depoſited, who were likewiſe uſurers by profeſſion *,)

* 'Antiquum retinentes adverſus omnes extraneos 'hoſtile odium.' Tacit Hiſt. l. v.

had been the farmers of Henry II. and the ſupport of his power; they were held of courſe in all the eſteem which ſuch important ſervices deſerved.

At the death of Henry II. his ſucceſſor Richard, raiſing money by all the means he could think of for his expedition to the Holy Land, ſaw no poſſibility of ſupplying his wants except by the Jews and the clergy. Scarce were his views ſurmiſed with regard to the former, when the public indignation, which had been ſtifled a long time, ſet up a general outcry. The populace indulging every emotion of reſentment, hurried on all ſides to ſacrifice the Jews for the outrages which they had ſuſtained from their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs.

In the following centuries the incapacity of the Engliſh for commerce had cauſed the Jews to be recalled to England, from whence they were baniſhed in the fourteenth century. In purſuance of the ancient prepoſſeſſion againſt this nation, Shakeſpear has introduced in the comedy which is looked upon as his maſter-piece (the Merchant of Venice) a Jew, whoſe character unites all the qualities of covetouſneſs, knavery, inhumanity, and the moſt execrable vices.

Since their being reſtored in England by Cromwell, the Jews diſperſed through the different claſſes of commerce, ſhare public offices with the other merchants, amongſt whom they diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſentiments and punctuality in their dealings, from which thoſe of their perſuaſion think themſelves diſpenſed in countries where the name of a Jew is a mark of ignominy and reproach. Their wealth makes part of the capital of a nation, and they contribute to its ſplendor.

Thus

Thus they can excite envy only upon the ſame account as the Engliſh merchants: beſides, envy is a paſſion which owes its birth to idleneſs: perſons whoſe minds are entirely engroſſed by their own affairs, buſy themſelves but very little with thoſe of other people. The Jews at laſt, warned by the events in which they had been ſufferers, left to the natives the whole profit of the finances, which in England is not always to be depended upon.

The vacancies which had been left in the kingdom by the ſeveral expulſions of the Jews, were filled with regard to the affairs of the bank and finances, by the Lombards, who ſwarmed in France about the ſame period.

England did not yield itſelf up a prey to the Lombard avidity without ſtipulating conditions, which partly favoured the national intereſt. The firſt of theſe obliged thoſe foreigners neither to export gold nor ſilver upon pain of confiſcation and conſiderable fines, but only ſuch materials as were the natural growth of the country, or the product of its manufactures. Lord Bacon, whilſt he relates this fact in his hiſtory of Henry the VIIth, adds that theſe conditions were violated by the Lombards, who had taken the advantage of the civil wars, which terminated at that prince's acceſſion to the throne; and that the confiſcations and fines occaſioned by this infringement, enabled the king to replace the firſt ſubſidies which he had forgiven the nation.

ESTABLISHMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE SCIENCES.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

AFTER having dwelt ſufficiently upon thoſe ſects *, which in the opinion of Roman Catholics, are the ſhame and reproach of England, let us conſider the aſſociations, which reflect an honour upon that kingdom, in the eye of the natives as well as of all foreigners.

I have already mentioned thoſe aſſociations and ſubſcriptions, which are opened and filled up every day, to relieve indigence, and repair unforeſeen misfortunes, &c. I ſhall now ſpeak of thoſe eſtabliſhments, which procure to ſciences, to literature, and to the uſeful or agreeable arts, all the aſſiſtance they are capable of deriving from the re-union of lights, ſcattered amongſt a people, who have a taſte for learning, and cultivate the ſciences through a principle of eſteem as well as of public zeal.

The Royal Society is the firſt of theſe eſtabliſhments, both with regard to antiquity

* I have already taken notice of that kind of ſuperſtition, with which all theſe ſects obſerve the Sunday. In 1757, when after the taking of Minorca, the parliament had reſolved to eſtabliſh a national militia, in order to provide an effectual remedy againſt the miſchiefs, to which the kingdom had been expoſed by the menaces of a deſcent on the part of the French, and by the maintaining of foreign troops in England, the Diſſenting miniſters joined in a petition to the government, that the militia intended to be raiſed, ſhould be reſtrained from performing their exerciſe on the Lord's-Day.

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and dignity: its foundation is dated in the year 1660, that is to ſay, the year of the reſtoration of Charles II. who made it one of the chief objects of his care.

The civil wars had been cauſed by a republican faction, in which only a very inconſiderable number of the nobility had embarked: the majority ſtill continued faithfully attached to the king's party; and, ſince the deſtruction of that party, they either lived in foreign countries, or upon their own eſtates: Cromwell did not reign upon principles capable of forming a numerous or brilliant court.

The nobility thus condemned to occupations, which could not give the vigilant eye of the uſurper any umbrage, had no reſource but in philoſophy and the cultivation of the intellectual faculties: ſuch had been the reſource of the firſt men of Rome, in the combuſtion of the civil wars of Sylla, Cæſar, and Auguſtus. The Engliſh genius electrified, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, by the ſhock of revolutions, attached itſelf to ſcience and literature, and that with an ardour of application which ſoon produced maſter-pieces in all the different ſpecies of compoſition. The flouriſhing ſtate of ſcience and literature under Auguſtus, the Medici family, and Lewis XIV. was, as the preſident Henault obſerved, a conſequence of the troubles which had preceded thoſe brilliant periods: "In theſe times of fermentation, a frequent repetition of happy, or unproſperous events, enlarges the ideas, invigorates the mind, expands its wings, and inſpires it with that deſire of glory, which never fails to produce extraordinary atchievements." To confine ourſelves to a fact relative to England, perhaps we are in-

debted for Paradiſe Loſt to the ſoarings of Milton's genius in an employment, which a blind zeal for liberty made him accept from Cromwell.

Lord Bacon had already made his appearance; his works teem with uncommon ideas, concerning a multiplicity of objects equally new and intereſting: the Engliſh philoſophers, who roſe after him, entering a road which had been opened to them by their countryman, took each a different path, and ſeemed all to meet at their journey's end.

They, however, had been preceded by ſome foreigners in the diſcovery of new truths: Galileo, and thoſe of his ſchool, had already begun the work. After the death of Galileo, the great duke Ferdinand aſſembled at Florence a ſociety, which, in 1657, was diſſolved into the celebrated Academia del Cimento.

France had entered the ſame career. Gaſſendi, at his laſt journey to Paris, in 1653, was received in a particular ſociety formed by Bouillaud, Paſcal, Roberval, Deſargues, Carcavi, and other geometricians: this ſociety met regularly every Saturday, and Gaſſendi attended it till his death *.

* This, as well as the following facts, relative to the Academy of natural Philoſophers and the Royal Society, I took from Sorbiere, in his life of Gaſſendi, in his relation of his voyage to England, printed at Paris in 1669, and in the Sorberiana. To this teſtimony we may add that of the learned Huetius, who was admitted a member of this academy, in which he read a diſſertation upon the Batavian Tear. 'Huet Comm. de Rebus ſuis.' By this account, the Society of the Natural Philoſophers of Paris ſeems to have been prior to the Royal Society of London.

M.

M. Habert de Monmaur, under whoſe roof, and in whoſe arms, Gaſſendi had juſt expired, convened at his houſe that ſociety which went by the name of the Academy of Natural Philoſophers: it was compoſed one half of Gaſſendiſts, and the other half of the diſciples of Deſcartes, who died in 1650: Sorbiere was ſecretary to it *: their firſt meeting was at the houſe of M. Monmaur, on the 18th of December 1657. Learned foreigners had admittance there: Oldemburgh, who was afterwards ſecretary to the Royal Society of London, regularly attended thoſe conferences, as did likewiſe lord Ranelagh, nephew to the celebrated Mr. Boyle. Sorbiere publiſhed in 1659, a collection †, conſiſting partly of memorials and diſſertations concerning the nature of motion, rarefaction, and the limits of human knowledge, compoſed for the Academy of Natural Philoſophers, in which they were read. This academy had even promiſed to publiſh its Memoirs, as we find by Gilles Menage, in his Commentary upon Diogenes Laertius ‡.

The eſtabliſhment of the Royal Society of London notwithſtanding, preceded that of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. Charles II. condeſcended to be at the head of it, not ſo much as a patron, as on account of his exten-

* This writer, who was a great partiſan of Gaſſendi, ſaid of Deſcartes, who after having eclipſed Gaſſendi, was eclipſed in his turn by Newton: 'Cecedit qui præivit, cadet qui ſequitur laus eſt omnium. Sorberiana.'

† Letters and Diſcourſes upon ſeveral curious Subjects.

‡ Commentarii Phyſica quæ brevis prodibunt. Ed. 1664.

ſive knowledge of the many objects, to which the labours of that ſociety are extended: a knowledge acquired in that ſchool, wherein all princes, truly great, have been formed, the ſchool of adverſity.

The founders of this ſociety did all for honour, and nothing to advance the fortune of its members, who to this day are obliged to defray all their expences, ordinary and extraordinary, out of their own pockets. They either pay a ſum at their reception (I once ſaw a gentleman pay forty guineas to the ſecretary) or contribute four guineas a year to the ſociety, and ſometimes more upon an extraordinary emergency.

By means of theſe contributions the ſociety furniſhed out a cabinet of natural hiſtory, after having erected an edifice to receive it. There is a librarian to take care of this cabinet, and to ſuperintend the library. The ſociety has a very extenſive, and conſequently a coſtly, correſpondence; in a word, it is at a great expence in making experiments, either to come at new diſcoveries, or to confirm thoſe which have already been made.

The collecting of curioſities for this cabinet is not the greateſt cauſe of expence to this ſociety. The chief rarities in it are for the moſt part preſents from all parts of England: an Engliſhman never thinks he can make a better uſe of a rare, extraordinary, and curious piece, which chance has procured him, or which he has bought at a very high price, than to give it to the public by depoſiting it in this cabinet.

The Royal Society unites thoſe objects which the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and that of Inſcriptions, have divided between them; that is to ſay the deep ſciences, and the belles lettres. At its firſt inſtitution, it buſied itſelf entirely with

with agriculture. Sorbiere informs us in the account of his voyage, "That the firſt time he attended the ſociety, a country gentleman ſpoke very pertinently upon the mildew of corn, and cited a thouſand curious obſervations upon the grain before it is ſown, upon the plant before it is reaped, and upon the ſtate of corn till it is converted into meal. He ſpoke, adds Sorbiere, of a certain grain of an extraordinary bulk which burſts out upon an ear of corn like an excreſcence, and is a kind of poiſon that may occaſion epidemic diſeaſes, though it has not yet been taken notice of."

Every man, whatever his ſtation in life, whether Engliſhman or foreigner, when he has made any obſervation which he thinks worthy the attention of the ſociety, is admitted vivâ voce, or by preſenting a memorial. I once ſaw a joiner, in a plain artificer's dreſs, lay before the ſociety a method which he had invented, to explain the cauſes of the ebbing and flowing of the tides. He ſpoke a long time, without knowing what he was about. He was, however, liſtened to with the utmoſt attention, thanked for his confidence in the knowledge of the ſociety, requeſted to digeſt his ideas in writing, or cauſe them to be digeſted for him, and was accompanied to the door by one of the members.

The place of theſe meetings is by no means magnificent: the table at the bottom of the room, is taken up by the preſident, who ſits with his back to the fire, and by the ſecretaries. Upon this table lies a great mace of gilt plate, like that belonging to the houſe of commons, like that, is faſtened to the legs of the table, when the ſociety forms itſelf into a committee. The preſident is provided with a ſmall hammer,

with

with which he ſtrikes the table, in order to command attention, when the occaſion requires it, but it is ſeldom neceſſary. The members ſeat themſelves near the table, or upon benches raiſed one above another; and keep ſtrict ſilence.

I have already ſpoken of the buſts and pictures * which are in the apartments of the ſociety. As I entered the room I ſaw, hanging upon the wainſcot, framed atteſtations of three or four members of the ſociety, in favour of thoſe who apply for admittance. Theſe atteſtations are of German members for the candidates of their nation, the ſame as of French members for theirs, &c. They continue thus expoſed to view near three months before election.

The ſociety exiſts chiefly in a council, conſiſting of twenty-one perſons, choſen from amongſt the members, who have the greateſt opportunity to indulge their taſte for its favourite ſtudies. The preſident, and the perpetual ſecretaries, make always part of this council, which is elected annually.

It was the more neceſſary to have recourſe to this method, as in 1765, the ſociety computed near four hundred national members, and in this number above forty peers of the realm, five of whom, belonging to the council, honoured the ſociety with a moſt aſſiduous and regular attendance.

* If the picture of Deſcartes was to be added to thoſe of the modern philoſophers, it might be copied from the original portrait, painted by Champagne, and preſerved in the cabinet of Mr. de Marolles, counſellor to the Court of Aids at Paris. It was a preſent of Mr. Clerſelier, to whom Deſcartes had given it.

The

The claſs of correſponding members abroad, in number about a hundred and fifty, includes all the moſt celebrated literati of Europe, or ſuch as aſpire after fame, by enrolling themſelves in that honourable ſociety. In this claſs, with the names of d'Alembert, Bernouilli, Buffon, Bonnet, Euler, Juſſieu, Linné, Maiſon, la Nauze, de Ulloa, van Swieten, Voltaire, &c. are to be ſeen thoſe of the kings of Poland, and Denmark, the margrave of Baden Dourlach, the duke of Modena, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwich, the dukes of Braganze, of Noia, of Galean, of Medina Sidonia, of Lobkowitz, Carvalho, of Nivernois, of the princes Czernichew, Jablonouſki, Razumouſki, Schualoff, and of miniſters whom many European ſovereigns honour with their confidence and intimacy.

The arms of the ſociety are, a tabula raſa in an argent field, and its motto, 'nullius in 'verba.' At its origin it conſiſted only of two hundred, comprizing in that number the foreigners confounded in its firſt liſts with the national members: amongſt thoſe foreigners were reckoned ſeven Frenchmen, Meſſ. Auzout, Beringhen, Bouillaud, Lefebvre, Marchand, Samuel Petit, and Sorbiere.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

The Society of Antiquaries, leſs numerous and leſs ancient than the Royal, holds its aſſemblies on the ſame day with the latter. The firſt opening at the hour that the ſecond breaks up. Gentlemen go from the Royal Society to that of Antiquaries; with the greater convenience, as the place where they aſſemble is in the ſame

part

part of the town. The latter does not, or at leaſt hitherto has not, publiſhed any memoirs *. It buſies itſelf with the inveſtigation of monuments, whether ancient, or of the middle ages, which ſtill exiſt in England. Plans of the moſt ſtriking of theſe monuments are taken and engraved at the expence of the ſociety. Its chief attention is engaged with coins, and with the ruins of ancient abbeys, ſcattered up and down the three kingdoms.

Every antique monument, and every edifice of an odd and ſingular form, which chance brings to light, is ſubjected to its examination and judgment. The laudable ardour of the Engliſh to furniſh matter for theſe judgments, will preſerve from the melting-pot, a prodigious number of antique pieces of conſiderable value.

One of theſe meetings, at which I aſſiſted, was entirely taken up with the examination of a gold ring, as conſiderable with regard to its ſize, as its weight, which a country-girl of Lincolnſhire, returning home, had found in the dirt ſticking to her pattens †.

The ring was adorned with a flouriſhing, in a very ordinary taſte, its collet was a medal of Probus, worked in the ſame manner with the ring, and the more evidently counterfeit, as on

* Since the author wrote the above, this Society has publiſhed the firſt volume of its papers, under the title of Archæologia, or Miſcellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity.

† They are of iron, and about half an inch high. They are made in ſome meaſure in the form of ſkaits, and drag upon the heel. All the women that walk the ſtreets of London, wear theſe pattens, which make an odd ſort of rattling.

its

its reverſe, within ſide the collet, there was a figure with a great croſs in its hand.

At another meeting, the cup of Atabalipa, the laſt of the Yncas of Peru, was examined. It was part of the ſpoils taken by Sir Francis Drake, in one of his expeditions againſt the Spaniards: from Drake, or his heirs, it paſſed to a miniſter of queen Elizabeth, in whoſe family it has continued.

It had no foot, but was nearly of the form and appearance of the fine ancient cup preſerved in the treaſury of St. Dennis; of a very pale gold, without a mixture of any other metal, and which had all the flexibility of thin paſteboard. Its ornaments conſiſted of a face, as indifferently chaſed as rudely deſigned. This face filled half the circumference of the cup, the other half was adorned with a bird by the ſame hand, and deſigned in the ſame taſte.

The ſociety appeared determined to have this antique engraved, and added to its collection. It is a pity that theſe prints are not accompanied with a ſcale of the proportions of each piece, as well as with the name of the cabinet to which it belongs.

This ſociety firſt gave birth to the thought of cauſing plans to be taken upon the ſpot, and prints to be afterwards engraved with the utmoſt magnificence, of the ruins of Palmyra, Balbec, Athens, Spalatro, &c.

The members of this ſociety are likely to propagate the taſte, which the Engliſh travellers in Italy are apt to imbibe for the ſtudy of antiquity: a taſte in which their conſtant commerce to the ſea-ports of the Levant enables them to gratify; a taſte which prevailed ſome time in France, under Francis I. and under Lewis XIV.

XIV. but which was only a mode, or a temporary fancy.

England at this day abounds in ancient monuments, but being ſcattered among the ſeats of the nobility and gentry *, they loſe, at leaſt with reſpect to ſtrangers, a conſiderable ſhare of the merit, which they would derive from being united in the capital. That fondneſs for reſiding in London, which begins to gain upon the Engliſh nobility, will bring antiques into vogue, when the palaces, now erecting in that town, ſhall be ſet in a condition to receive them.

The few monuments of this ſort, which I have ſeen in London and its environs, appeared to me to be choſen with the utmoſt taſte: a liſt of them will not here be out of place.

1. In the earl of Cheſterfield's cabinet, a Demoſthenes dying, in a baſſo relievo of Parian marble, about two feet high, with the remains of an inſcription in Greek characters.

2. In that of Dr. Aſkew, in a baſſo relievo of the ſame materials, and of the largeſt proportion, the general Xantippus offering to the gods a ſort of a ſhoe or half boot, in return for the cure of a wound in his foot which he had received in a battle. This baſſo relievo was taken by Dr. Aſkew out of the ruins of Athens.

3. At the ſeat of lord Tilney, two buſts; one of Adrian, the other of Septimus Severus, of the moſt extraordinary beauty.

4. At Mr. Wilton's, a ſtatuary, a Diſcobole, a Greek antique belonging to Mr. Locke,

* Several of theſe ſeats, that of Wilton in particular, abound as much in antiquities of this ſort as many Roman villas. Wilton belongs to the earl of Pembroke.

who

who gave 300 guineas for it. It wanted only ſome ſmall repair, which Mr. Wilton had juſt given it.

London is poſſeſſed of ſeveral cabinets of medals. That of Mr. Duane is, both for the number and completeneſs of the collection, ſo rich, that it may juſtly vie with the cabinet of a ſovereign. He poſſeſſes a fine ſeries of the coins of the kings of Perſia, with inſcriptions in characters ſuppoſed to be thoſe of the ſacred language, in which Zoroaſter wrote: the metal of theſe coins is a very brittle ſort of ſilver, which bears a ſtrong reſemblance to ſolder *.

Mr. Duane had three of the coſtlieſt medals of Athens, on one ſide of which was the head of Minerva, and on a ſquare reverſe the owl with an olive branch. He forced me with the moſt obliging importunity, to accept the fineſt of theſe three medals as a preſent. I cannot more properly terminate this article, than by relating a compliment of this ſort which France received from England. The count of Caylus, to whom it was made, relates it in the laſt volume of his Egyptian Antiquities in theſe terms:

"On the 18th of June in the year 1764, Mr. Major, an Engliſh engraver, brought me five little Egyptian figures, and a baſſo relievo of marble. Curious to know from whom this preſent came, I queſtioned him accordingly; and as ſecrecy had been recommended to him, he did not explain himſelf, but ſuddenly diſappeared, no doubt through fear of being overperſuaded by my importunity to make a diſcove-

* Theſe medals are the ſame with thoſe which Hyde had publiſhed before, in his great work concerning the religion of the Perſians.

ry:

ry: this abrupt departure was the more eaſy for him to effectuate, as I was confined to my bed by illneſs. He had put into my hands a note, when he delivered the figures: in this I expected to find the information I deſired, but I was undeceived as ſoon as I had got it tranſlated. The import of the paper was, that an Engliſhman, a zealous friend to liberty, and who looked upon the whole world as his country, had a deſire to enrich my cabinet with ſome Egyptian antiques. The moſt kind and polite expreſſions inhanced the value of the preſent.

Penetrated with the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude at a procedure ſo noble and almoſt unparalleled, I uſed all poſſible means to come at the knowledge of this generous man, but without ſucceſs: ſeeing my inquiries ineffectual, I was obliged to advertiſe in the public papers in London; there he read part of the thanks which I returned him, and became acquainted with my deſire to know where the baſſo relievo had been diſcovered, and how it had been brought over to Europe. I ſoon obtained my requeſt. The ſame Engliſhman, the ſame friend of liberty, the ſame citizen of the world (for this is the name which he continued to aſſume in the ſecond letter which he did me the honour of writing to me) has ſent me word, that the baſſo-relievo which he ſo generouſly made me a preſent of, was brought from Grand Cairo, about fifteen years ago, by the maſter of an Engliſh ſhip; that it was conſigned to a merchant of London who ſold it, and that afterwards it had fallen into the hands of the donor.

This civility was the more agreeable, and the leſs ſuſpected of flattery, as the count of Caylus died, without ever knowing from what hand it came

came. Having ſet an enquiry on foot in London, I diſcovered that this valuable preſent came from Thomas Holles, eſq. member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.

SOCIETY OF ARTS.

The moſt numerous ſociety, not in England only but in all Europe, is that formed in 1753, by Mr. William Shipley, of Northampton. The object of this ſociety is the encouragement * of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It at preſent conſiſts of about 3000 members amongſt whom are a great many peers of Great Britain Each of theſe members contributes two guineas a year: many, however do not confine themſelves to this ſum, which they are proud to exceed in proportion to their rank or wealth.

The conſiderable ſums produced by this contribution, are employed upon objects which the attention of the ſociety extends to, and upon the different articles into which thoſe objects are ſubdivided: the ſociety relative to theſe objects, is divided into ſeveral committees, formed of aſſociates moſt verſed in each ſubject, either by taſte or condition of life: they have their meetings upon fixed days and hours, in a large houſe occupid by the ſociety in the Strand.

* This ſociety is not erected into an academy, a title reſerved by the Engliſh for learned aſſemblies. An academy of agriculture, compoſed of perſons who never handled the mattock, nor followed the plough, would be, in their eye, the ſame thing, as an academy of ſurgery, formed of perſons who never handled the probe or the lancet. In England, the miniſtry, and the lovers of art, think it ſufficient to encourage this ſociety.

The

The fineſt room in this houſe forming a ſalon, with ſky lights, is conſecrated to the arts: a gallery adjoining to it, contains all the new invented machines, for abridging labour in the different trades. Whether perfect or imperfect in their kind, they are amply paid for by the ſociety, whoſe chief aim is to direct thoſe who have a genius for mechanics, to their proper objects.

It grants prizes to all thoſe, who make it their ſtudy to invent, extend, or perfect any new method of cultivation. That of the herb madder made uſe of by dyers, gives it conſiderable employment. I aſſiſted at one of theſe committees, at the reading of ſeveral certificates, in favour of perſons from all parts of England, who had concerned themſelves in the culture of this branch. Upon the delivery of theſe certificates by the miniſter and juſtice of peace, belonging to the pariſhes where the perſons lived, a prize was aſſigned to each memorial, proportioned to the extent of the land cultivated, and the madder gathered.

At another meeting I aſſiſted at the reading of a long memorial ſent to the ſociety by a farmer, who had ſown twelve acres of fallow ground with common carrots. A conſiderable quantity of great and ſmall cattle had lived during a twelvemonth in that field, which they quitted thoroughly fattened, leaving the land much better dunged for the year following, than it could poſſibly be in the uſual way. The memorial which, as I was told, was tedious and ill penned, contained a long detail of the procedure of the huſbandman, by which he gained the prize.

This

This committee, the preſident of which was Dr. Parſons, conſiſted of ſix perſons, amongſt whom a luſty hatter, member of the ſociety and the committee, ſignalized himſelf by long and vehement ſpeeches, the aim of which was to conteſt facts, and require to have them proved. Notwithſtanding his clamour the whole affair was mildly accommodated.

This committeee is the centre of a conſtant correſpondence, by favour of which a variety of perſons of all ranks, even men of the firſt quality, who dedicate themſelves to the ſtudy of agriculture, mutually communicate to each other their methods of cultivation, their projects of improvement, their repeated endeavours, with their good and ill ſucceſs.

Theſe perſons are aſtoniſhed at thoſe ſpeculations upon agriculture, which idle reaſoners indulge in other countries: ſpeculations which being uſefel only to particular people, who have brought them into vogue, anſwer no other purpoſe but to fill periodical writings. If, ſay they, theſe people really deſire to ſerve the cauſe of agriculture, why do they not, in places where the courvée * robs it of ſo many hands, whoſe time is infinitely precious, make united efforts to deliver it from that yoke, either by convincing the government of the inconveniencies attending it, or by applying ſome remedy to the evil, by way of ſubſcription, if it be thought neceſſary?

In a converſation upon this ſubject, an Engliſh gentleman, who was very fond of huſ-

* A day's work due from the vaſſal to his lord, to be done in perſon, or by his cattle, plough, or team. T.

bandry,

bandry, told me, that happening to travel in the Autumn of the year 1767, from Germany to Paris, through Burgundy and Champagne, he ſtopt in the evening at a village upon the road to Langres, named Suzainne-court. As he did not chuſe to ſup, and ſaw that the principal inns in the village were filled with coaches and waggons, he alighted at a kind of a hovel, where he found a bed for himſelf and a ſtable for his horſe, and there fixed his quarters for that night. Whilſt he waited till bed-time, and was free from the noiſe unavoidable in great inns, which he had prudently ſhunned, he amuſed himſelf with converſing with the miſtreſs of the houſe, a widow-woman, when ſuddenly entered the ſyndic of the village, at the head of twenty peaſants, for whom he required 'gite *' in the king's name.

Theſe peaſants made part of a body of ſixty or eighty, who were come from different quarters, to beg n next day a grand courvée upon the road Suzainne-court.

The Engliſh gentleman, whoſe views were diſconcerted by the appearance of this crowd, made a particular inquiry into the cauſe of their meeting. They had been ſummoned eight or ten leagues off, with their carts and their oxen; but it was found impoſſible to bring their teams ſo far, on account of a moſt rugged road thro' mountains and craggy places, which neither their carriages nor their oxen were able to get over.

The peaſants, drawn up in a row round the kitchen-table ſeemed to be very penſive, and

* Gite, is a power to lie at the houſe of a tenant, vaſſal, or ſubject, in paſſing along by it. T.

to

to revolve in their minds the fine which they owed their king, and which they were obliged the next day to make good in the preſence of the inſpector, or go to priſon. This fine being proportioned to the number of oxen that each was to bring with him, it was neceſſary to take an account, which ſhould diſtinguiſh the quota for each individual, and give the ſum total to be paid to the inſpector. Upon this occaſion, they had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh gentleman, who quickly anſwered their queſtion, and calculated the ſum, which amounted to about fifty livres; this they drew, with a very ſorrowful countenance, out of their pockets, in all ſorts of money, enveloped in paper, and, together with the account, it was locked up by the landlady.

This affair being adjuſted, whilſt theſe poor wretches were buſied near the fire in warming ſome butter and wine, which were given them in charity, to foment their feet, all mangled and torn with walking over flints, the widow aſked them whether they were for ſupper? Some had bread, and made a bargain to have it boiled up with water, ſalt, and a little butter, at two ſols a head: others agreed for the bread and the ſeaſoning: many having neither bread nor money, withdrew to the barn, there to repair their exhauſted ſtrength by repoſe, that they might be able to go through the toil of the next day.

The Engliſh gentleman then aſked the widow, whether ſhe could get a little ſauce to make a ſoup expeditiouſly by mixing it with butter and greens. She ſaid ſhe had the gravy of ſome beef à la mode, which had been the chief proviſion of her houſe during four days. The gentleman agreed for it: a large pot having been filled

filled up to the brim, and again put upon the fire, he cauſed as much bread to be given to the company as they choſe; ſhe cut it into ſlices, and put them into four great earthen diſhes, which were no ſooner repleniſhed with broth, than it was ſwallowed up with all the ſilence of a Carthuſian refectory. He then cauſed three muſty cheeſes to be ſerved up, with bread ſtill at the diſcretion of the company. The whole entertainment coſt him five livres eight ſols, and procured him a thouſand bleſſings, with the moſt fervent prayers, which thoſe good people put up to heaven for him, returning him thanks in a body.

The gentleman accompanied his relation of this affair with many obſervations upon the fine, upon its legality, upon the character of thoſe who ordered it with one hand, and at the ſame time received it with the other, upon the uſe it was put to, upon the increaſe of labour ariſing from it, &c. He added, that happening ſince to be at a fine country ſeat, which belonged to a man who had made a fortune by paving the high road, he had ſcarce come to the knowledge of that circumſtance, when he fled with all haſte fearing leſt the houſe ſhould tumble down, and cruſh him together with the owner.

What would this gentleman have ſaid, of a new ſort of oppreſſion, which has been deviſed in this way? The king cauſes a ſtone bridge to be built acroſs a road, at his own expence; and the ſtone for this uſe muſt be taken out of a quarry about twenty leagues from the ſpot. The peaſants of the ſeveral villages around, within the diſtance of ten miles, receive orders to go and fetch the ſtone, at the price of three livres a cubic foot: but each foot dug up in the quarry,

ry, coſts five livres to the carrier, conſidering what he ſpends, excluſive of the damage done to his waggon and horſes. This ſtone is notwithſtanding amply paid for by the king, either to the undertaker, or to a third perſon, in whoſe name the latter engages to bring it to the place.

Let us now return to the Society of Arts: one of its rooms contains eſſays in drawing, painting, and ſculpture, each of them marked with the author's name, and the value of the prize that was adjudged to him. Tho' they do not often raiſe the reputation of their authors, they reflect the higheſt honour upon the generoſity and magnificence of the ſociety. Amongſt the ſeveral performances of this ſort, I ſhall name only the firſt hiſtorical picture, which in large figures repreſents the Druids employed in gathering the miſſeltoe from oaks. I never in my life ſaw a picture ſo weakly executed in every reſpect, and which gave ſo little hopes of its author. By generouſly rewarding ſuch attempts, England will have an opportunity of knowing whether ſhe may entertain hopes of having any artiſts of Britiſh growth. If time produces no conſiderable improvements in this reſpect, ſhe will conſole herſelf by ſaying with the Romans:

'Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra, &c.'

An object no leſs noble but more intereſting to the nation, is that which the parliament has propoſed to itſelf by offering a reward for the diſcovery of the longitude. This reward of 30,000 l. was to be adjudged by a committee compoſed half of the moſt eminent men in the kingdom for learning, and half of thoſe peers of Great Britain 'qui colunt Muſas ſuperiores.'

A German (Mr. Meyer, profeſſor in the univerſity of Gottingen) and a Frenchman, Mr. Clairaut, having with that view jointly ſtudied the theory of the moon, the palm was, in 1769, adjudged to Mr. Meyer, who died before judgment could be pronounced in his favour. When I was in London, his widow had already received 12000 l. in part of 30000 l. I had been informed at Paris, that national * antipathy had had ſome influence in the paſſing of this judgment. To all the queſtions which I propoſed upon this delicate ſubject, both to the literati, and to ſome of the noblemen of the committee, the anſwer conſtantly made me was, that Mr. Clairaut had not ſent his papers to London, till after the time fixed for the reception of the memorials, and that this fatal delay had deprived him of the competition. An Engliſhman, who was very much a friend to the French, told me at the ſame time, that as Mr. Meyer's performance was more complete and exact in ſome capital articles than that of Mr. Clairaut, it fulfilled the ſeveral conditions required; and finally, that when both ſhould be laid before the public, all the learned in Europe would confirm the judgment of the Engliſh committee.

I have already made mention of the Britiſh Muſeum, of the treaſures which it contains, and of the eagerneſs of the Engliſh to raiſe it to the utmoſt perfection †. Its claſſes of natural hiſ-

* I found no ſigns of this antipathy, either in the behaviour, or the converſation of the learned Engliſh. Allow them an undiſputed ſuperiority in the mathematical ſciences, and they are ready to compound for every thing elſe.

† See Patriotiſm, and the Society of Antiquaries.

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tory made by the celebrated Sir Hans Sloane are complete: there is no where elſe a collection of butterflies, which unites all that the old and new world can produce of this ſort: metals, minerals, and fine ſtones have been brought together with the ſame exactneſs. The claſs of ſtones contains two very extraordinary pieces, taken from the famous Giant's Cauſeway, in the county of Antrim, in Ireland. They are ſhaped like all the other ſtones of that Cauſeway, in a regular pentagon, and look as if they had been caſt in a mold. I carried a piece of this ſtone to Mr. Deſmareſt, whom a long application to the ſtudy of ancient and modern volcanos has enabled to decide, whether theſe extraordinary ſtones are the effect of art, or of ſome burning mountains.

Printed books are the moſt inconſiderable part of this immenſe collection; but, however extenſive the building may be, it could not without prejudice to the other parts, contain a library worthy of ſo great and magnificent a metropolis. The Banquetting-houſe would be a very proper place for ſuch a library, and ſome addition might be made to it, in proportion as the collection was augmented. Oxford might, without impoveriſhing itſelf contribute greatly to this increaſe. There are twenty colleges in that city; each of which has a library, many of them complete, or nearly ſo in ſeveral faculties. A collection from theſe libraries, added to the Muſeum's preſent ſtock, would ſoon form, at a very ſmall expence, a library complete in every branch of ſcience.

The collection of medals is very far from being complete; but it will ſhortly be ſo, conſidering with what zeal the Engliſh endeavour to

promote the intereſt of learning, which they never ſeparate from the good of the public.

Amongſt the modern medals, the Engliſh are eager to ſee one of Francis II. king of France, which diſcovers a ſtriking reſemblance between that king, and preſent queen of England.

I have, in my poſſeſſion, this medal, ſtruck at the coronation of Francis II. which it fixes upon the 17th of September, 1559. Notwithſtanding the authenticity of this monument, nothing can be more uncertain in our hiſtories than that very epocha. The preſident Henault has followed the contemporary journal of Brulard, in adopting the epocha fixed by that medal. Mezeray, and other authors, place it on the 21ſt; Thuanus, Tillet, and father Daniel, have preferred the 18th; and in ſpite of the medal, the latter hit upon the truth, ſince they agree with the chronology of the church of Rheims: this fixes upon Monday the 18th of September 1559, the coronation of Francis II. by the cardinal of Lorrain, who had crowned Henry II. on the 26th of July, 1547, and who afterwards performed the ſame ceremony on Charles IXth, on the 15th of May, 1561, which happened to be the Aſcenſion.

Coins of the ſame century give riſe to ſtill greater uncertainty concerning a more important event. The old cardinal of Bourbon, who was proclaimed king by the league in 1589, by the name of Charles X. died on the 9th of May 1590, at Frontenac, where Henry III. had cauſed him to be confined in 1588. And yet the towns in the intereſt of the league continued to coin money with his head and his titles till the year 1594. I have by me ſome of this coin ſtruck in 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594: he reigned over

over theſe towns after his deceaſe, with the ſame power and authority as in his life time.

I have already ſpoken of the Cotton library, now placed in the Muſeum: this with the Harleian library contains an immenſe quantity of charters, documents, original titles and tracts, furniſhing materials for a hiſtory of the four laſt centuries. Theſe charters joined to thoſe enumerated in the Formulare Anglicanum, publiſhed by Madox in 1702, contain all the lights that can be deſired with regard to the hiſtory of England, and even with reſpect to ſeveral points either important or curious in the hiſtory of France. The catalogue of theſe pieces fills ſeveral volumes in folio: theſe, with the other records in the Tower of London, enabled Mr. Rymer to finiſh his voluminous compilation of the Fædera; and during my reſidence at London they furniſhed materials to that of M. de Brequigny, of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres at Paris. The end aimed at in this work was an examen of all the pieces, and a tranſcription of thoſe, which being relative to France, are not to be found in the collections publiſhed by Camden, Rymer, Hearne, Leland, Salmon, &c.

The original of Magna Charta, that is to ſay, the palladium of the Engliſh liberty, is depoſited in the Muſeum. There are even two copies of it in ſimilar characters, but the ſecond appeared to me ſuſpicious, from the blackneſs and freſhneſs of the ink, and its being without either flaw or crack; as well as from this circumſtance, that the bottom of the genuine copy is very much worn by the ſeals pendant to it, while the other has only two ſlits, but no ſeal.

Among a number of pieces equally curious and valuable in enamel, and in miniature, the Muſeum is poſſeſſed of a collection of original drawings by the learned Maria-Sibylla Merian, who after having exhauſted all the ſubjects that nature offered to her pencil in Europe, went over to Surinam, and there painted the butterflies, and other curioſities of the continent of America.

The Muſeum, independent of what it contains, is of itſelf capable of exciting the curioſity of ſtrangers: it is of all the houſes in London the largeſt, the completeſt, and moſt magnificent. The ſtair-caſe, ſome of the apartments, and the cielings were painted by the celebrated la Foſſe, when his genius was in its full vigour; as he was paid with a royal munificence, he treated his ſeveral ſubjects with a grandeur worthy of a ſovereign's palace. Two French painters, Rouſſeau and Monnoyer, both equally famous, one for drapery and perſpective, the other for flowers and landſcapes executed under la Foſſe the parts which he aſſigned them.

To magnificence is joined the beautiful proſpect from the apartments, which open towards the North to a fertile plain, agreeably diverſified, and terminated by a hill which is crowned by a beautiful village.

This palace was built by John Duke of Montague, keeper of the wardrobe, and favourite of Charles II. He was twice ambaſſador at the court of Lewis XIV. and the declared patron of the Proteſtant refugees in England, upon which account he fell into diſgrace with king James; but king William honoured him with the higheſt favour, and aſſigned him one of the firſt places in

in his council, which he afterwards retained under queen Anne.

He dedicated a very large income towards erecting this palace, not ſo much for his own uſe, as to do honour to England and the metropolis; a motive as great and laudable, as that of Bruyere's citizen is mean and deſerving of cenſure, "who built a houſe ſo elegant, ſo coſtly, and "ſo loaded with decorations, that it was uninhabitable; the maſter thinking it too fine to "make it his dwelling-houſe, and not having "reſolution enough to let it to a prince or a perſon in the miniſtry, retired to the garret, "whilſt the grand apartments and the hall were "left to foreign viſiters. People knocked inceſſantly at the grand door: all wanted to "ſee the houſe, but none the owner."

In this manner, however, the duke of Montague acted: they ſhew a little apartment at the bottom of one of the wings, where he took up his habitation; there he paſſed the laſt years of his life, far from the view of thoſe whom curioſity brought to his houſe.

In virtue of an act of parliament paſſed in the late reign, the nation has acquired this palace from the duke's family, who ſold it for 10,000l. ſterling, that is to ſay for about one half of what it coſt; but the uſe to which it is aſſigned anſwers the intention of the builder.

That this might be completely anſwered, it were to be wiſhed that the public could enjoy the Muſeum more fully and more at its eaſe: for this purpoſe there ſhould be a keeper in each apartment, who ſhould not ſtir from thence during the hours in which the Muſeum is open. Dr. Maty and Dr. Morton, with ſeveral other learned, ſhare this office between

them, and diſcover the moſt obliging readineſs in gratifying the curioſity both of natives and ſtrangers; but the curſory view that viſiters are obliged to be ſatisfied with, through fear of encroaching upon their complaiſance, makes them overlook a number of objects which deſerve to be attentively conſidered.

The expences which this would render unavoidable, require only an inconſiderable addition to the funds aſſigned by the nation for the ſupport, the increaſe, and improvement of this magnificent eſtabliſhment, which is under the inſpection of truſtees, * choſen from amongſt the moſt eminent literati and the firſt-rate noblemen †. Amongſt the latter we find the names of lords Cavendiſh, Willoughby, Cadogan, Egmont, Hardwicke, Lyttleton, Morton, Northumberland, Camden, and others, to whom this choice does as much honour as to the nation.

The connexion eſtabliſhed by theſe aſſociations between the literati and the chief nobility, does not give riſe to that ſort of familiarity which prevails in France between men of learning and the great.

* There is wanting to the magnificence of this eſtabliſhment, a principal or chief truſtee; who ſhould lodge at a convenient vicinity to the Muſeum, or in the Muſeum itſelf, and be paid by the ſtate; he ſhould alſo keep open houſes for foreigners of diſtinction, and do the honours of the Muſeum. This principal truſtee would be the ſame in London, as the head librarian is at the king's library at Paris.

† The places of truſtees are merely honorary, without either emolument, or any ſalary annexed. Thoſe who are inveſted with them, conſider them only as honours that engage them to increaſe the treaſure of the Muſeum at their own expence.

Arts

Arts and literature, ſay the Engliſh, loſe nothing by this behaviour; perhaps they are gainers: but they are not poſitive whether the nobility thereby gain any advantage. They juſtify this reſerve by the manner in which the preſident Jeannin behaved to the French literati during his ſuperintendanc. "Every year he invited to a grand dinner thoſe men of learning "who were court penſioners, exhorted them to "perſevere in ſerving the king and the public, "cauſed their penſions to be payed them exactly, and requeſted them not to viſit him: chuſing rather to ſtudy their works in his cloſet, "than to ſee them at his levee."

From this reſerved behaviour of the grandees of England to men of learning, and from the nature of the eſtabliſhments in favour of the arts and ſciences, it follows that they are better and more generouſly treated in France than in England, where they ſeem to be neglected by the ſtate *, whilſt in France they are a particular object of its attention.

Notwithſtanding this, the taſte for erudition, which was eſtabliſhed in England by Sir Thomas More, &c. has ſtood its ground there longer than in any country in Europe †. An eruditi-

* The name of the king of England, at the head of all learned ſocieties, is almoſt in every reſpect 'titulus ſine re,' an empty title.

† The celebrated Huetius wrote, at the beginning of this century, to a learned German: 'Bonarum 'literarum ſtudia uſque adeo in his locis obſoleverunt, 'ut ne in Latinis quidem ſcriptionibus, nedum in 'Hebraicis Græciſve publicandis, ullas omnino impenſas facere velint librarii noſtri, nedum ne in vernaculis quidem quæ eruditionem ſapiunt.' We

meet

on as agreeable as extenſive makes the chief merit of the Spectator, which Mr. Addiſon wrote in 1712. This taſte is not extinct: Dr. Kennicott has for many years paſt been employed in collating all the Hebrew manuſcripts of the Old Teſtament now extant in Europe, and in collecting the various readings which he has found in collating them with the utmoſt accuracy.

Theſe labours, and the reſolution which they require, ſpring from the perſeverance of the Engliſh in the purſuit of whatever objects they attach themſelves to, which makes a part of the character of the nation in general. In conſequence of this perſeverance, of which I have already ſpoken upon, forming a judgment of their own authors, and thoſe of other countries, they eſteem them in proportion to the application

meet with this letter in the Collection of Diſſertations upon Religion and Philoſophy, printed at Paris. In another letter of the year 1675, addreſſed to Grævius, and inſerted in that very volume, the ſame prelate ſpeaks in theſe terms of the labours of the commentators, who wrote in uſum Delphini, labours which he ſuperintended in concert with the duke of Montaubin: 'In his nonnulla, atque utinam non multa deprehendes, quæ limato tuo judicio & exquiſitæ eruditioni parum ſatisfaciant; ſed tam cara eſt doctorum annona, ut in eorum delectu nobis eſſe faſtidioſis haud quaquam licuerit.' He returns again to this ſubject, in a letter to Voſſius, dated in the year 1677. 'In hoc non dico eruditorum, ſed ſtudioſorum hominum penuriâ & tantâ bonarum artium vaſtitate preclarè nobiſcum actum eſt, cum aliquos fors obtulit deſtinato operi utcunque idoneos.' About the ſame period Thomas Creech was employed in compoſing his admirable commentary on Lucretius.

with

with which they have fixed themſelves to the objects of their ſtudy, to the diſcoveries which this application has given riſe to, and in fine to the ſacrifices which they have made to it of their fortune, of the favour of the great, and even of the eſteem of their contemporaries.

For ſuch conſiderations as theſe they have the higheſt eſteem for our Thuanus, Pithou, Paſquier, Mezerai, who, as it were, undertaking to prop the edifice of the French hiſtory, have cleared it from thoſe incumbrances, under which it was almoſt entirely buried, and have replaced it upon its firſt foundations, which ignorance or perſonal intereſt had quitted, to enlarge the ſtructure in all appearance; but in fact that it might laſt no longer than ſuited their convenience *.

Upon

* If the enemies of the Jeſuits could have conſidered them in any other light than with regard to their connexions with the formulary, and the conſtitution Unigenitus, we ſhould have had a continued hiſtory of all the perſecutions, covert or open, which intereſt, and the particular views of Society, have ſtirred up againſt theſe writers and their works with irreconcileable animoſity. In this hiſtory we ſhould ſee the Jeſuit Machaut, an inveterate enemy to Thuanus's hiſtory; whilſt his brethren intrigued with ſucceſs, to deprive the author of the place of firſt preſident, to which he was called by the whole kingdom. We ſhould ſee the Jeſuit Garaſſe, inflamed with hatred againſt Paſquier during his life, and againſt his body after his deceaſe. We ſhould ſee the Jeſuit Daniel, in the year 1700, paving the way to his Hiſtory of France, by critical obſervations, the aim of which was to bring an odium upon Mezerai, and to render him ſuſpected and contemptible to princes, miniſters, to the great, to courtiers, to the upper clergy, to monks,

Upon this account they have a high opinion of the reſearches to which the abbé le Beuf dedicated his life. To their eſteem for theſe inveſtigations, which are confined to our libraries, I am indebted for what knowledge I have of them: the labour of ſtudying them is abundantly compenſated by the pleaſure of learning a multitude of facts, connected with a thouſand objects either curious or intereſting. None of the works of this laborious writer is more prolific in facts of this ſort, though none more bare in appearance, than his Hiſtory of the Dioceſe of Paris. There we find a full account of the prodigious increaſe of population in the neighbourhood of that capital *, in the two laſt centuries: a progreſs which is in the ratio of five to one. The very liſts of the ancient owners of every village or hamlet, are capable of ſuggeſting reflexions which muſt conſole an honourable mediocrity. It appears from theſe liſts, how often intrigues, credit, and the management of the public money, have in every age produced great fortunes; how ſoon thoſe fortunes have been ſquandered; and how ſhort a time the race

monks, financiers, and even to women themſelves. In fine, we ſhould ſee the Jeſuits no leſs earneſt in ſupplying the place of Thuanus and Mezerai, by their father Daniel, by M. de Fleury's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, by the Hiſtory of the Gallican Church; and the ancient by the modern Sully, &c. &c. than they have been to ſubſtitute the Bible of Berruyer to that of Sacy; the year of the Chriſtian to the Chriſtian year; to the Catechiſm of Montpellier, the Catechiſm to which they had condemned father Bougeant, as a penance for his little ingenious treatiſe concerning the ſouls of beaſts, &c. &c.

* To the north and the weſt.

of

of thoſe upſtarts, 'breves domini,' to uſe an expreſſion of Horace's, has laſted.

Poſſeſſions of another ſort raiſe a different kind of aſtoniſhment, either by their long continuance in the ſame hands, or on account of the means which contributed to their acquiſition. How many colleges, how many hoſpitals and infirmaries, have, in prejudice of the public and in contempt of the intention of the founders, been converted into abbeys or priories!

A criticiſm equally judicious and bold, prevails throughout this Hiſtory in the moſt humble and modeſt ſtile. A few particular diſcuſſions relative to remarkable facts or cuſtoms, are as intereſting with regard to the lights which they convey, as amuſing on account of the ingenious manner in which they are penned. The Hiſtory of Lendit *, for example, with equal ingenuity lays open the low ſort of knavery, of which every fair is the theatre; and the frauds of a higher order, which belonged peculiarly to that fair †.

The abbé le Beuf, and our celebrated writers whom I have cited above, had no other object in view than truth, the love of which excited and ſupported their labours.

Such labours, and ſometimes even the ſole deſire of purſuing them, are rewarded in France by gratifications and penſions. They are not equally encouraged in England: but the place of this encouragement is ſupplied by equivalents, the more agreeable as conferring both honour and emoluments.

* Tom. iii. at the ſequel of the Hiſtory of St. Denis, p. 246.

† See likewiſe Tom. i. p. 200. Tom. iii. p. 403.

A conſi-

A conſiderable number of biſhops and beneficed clergymen have owed their biſhopricks, and the high ranks which they held amongſt the clergy, to works upon ſubjects entirely prophane, by which they have acquired reputation. Prior, and Addiſon, &c. roſe by the ſame means to high employments. Newton by his Optics, his Fluxions, and his Mathematical Principles of * Natural Philoſophy, acquired ſuch a degree of reputation that he was made maſter of the mint, the ſalary of which place is equivalent to the penſions ſettled upon men of letters in France. In our days Mr. Hume, who is equally celebrated for the profoundneſs of his philoſophical and political ſpeculations, and for the Hiſtory of England, was, in the moſt critical juncture of affairs, entruſted with the ſecretaryſhip of the Engliſh embaſſy to France. In fine all public preferments, even that of lord chan-

* Theſe Principles are the ground-work of his ſyſtem of attraction, which had been thought of before by Anthony Deuſingius, a celebrated profeſſor of Groningen, who died in 1666 In 1661, Deuſingius had publiſhed a treatiſe upon this ſubject, of which it will be ſufficient juſt to mention the title: 'Diſquiſitio Pyhſico-mathematicæ gemina de Vacuo, 'itemque de Attractione: quibus probatur nullum da-'ri vel poſſe dari vacuum, oſtenditurque non pulſione 'duntaxat, ſed et attractione in rerum naturâ fieri mo-'tum.' Amſtelodami, 1661, in 12mo. Newton being admitted, at the age of nineteen, a member of Trinity-College in the univerſity of Cambridge, there began the ſtudy of geometry, and made ſuch a progreſs, that in 1669, he was able to ſucceed his maſter, Dr. Barrow, as Mathematical Profeſſor, in the ſame univerſity. His Mathematical Principles, publiſhed in 1687, were not held in due eſteem till the beginning of the next century.

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cellor, are in England, as they long were in France, the reward of merit; a merit that derives its chief luſtre from the love and cultivation of learning, which opened the road of preferment to Bacon and Clarenden, a merit in fine not entirely uſeleſs and unavailing till the days of Cromwell.

Theſe public preferments are to the Engliſh literati, what the trophies of Marius were in the eye of Cæſar. The deſire of making themſelves known, of gaining reputation, of making a fortune, excites abilities, and diſplays them in a true light: with the help of artifice and cunning it ſometimes ſupplies their place: with the ambitious and intriguing Engliſh, literary labours are only the ſcaffolding by which they raiſe their fortune. They conſider men whoſe minds are abſorbed in ſtudy, and who love learning upon its own account *, in the ſame light as the people of Epheſus viewed the gloomy philoſophers, playing at marbles and huckle-bones with children in the porch of the Temple of Fortune †.

The condition of men of learning in France, circumſcribed within a narrow circle of penſions and gratifications, is diſpenſed from making thoſe efforts and condeſcending to thoſe compliances which lead to preferment. It neither promiſes nor gives any thing more than a decent competency, 'otium cum dignitate,' that is to ſay, the happineſs aimed at by men in the higheſt ſtations, if we may believe their profeſſions. A man of learning expoſes himſelf to ridicule, if he attempts to enlarge his ſphere; hence the

* 'Traducere lenitur ævum.' Hor.

† Heraclitus.

great

great may find amongſt the literati, friends the leſs troubleſome, as they have no pretenſions or claims, being content with their preſent ſtation.

From this difference between the ſtate of men of learning in France and England, there reſults an advantage to the latter which France has enjoyed in ſimilar circumſtances. The light derived from ſcience and literature, ſpreading by means of thoſe who have conſecrated themſelves to ſtudy, through all conditions and ranks, becomes the property of the whole nation. But ſcience and literature being confined in France to a ſmall number of perſons particularly devoted to ſtudy, have no immediate influence upon other conditions of life, in the midſt of which they form a diſtinct and ſeparate ſtate. The Greeks and Romans on the contrary had no farther eſteem for ſtudy, and the knowledge it procures, than in proportion to the ſervices which ſociety might expect from the application of men of learning *.

In England, thoſe who have made a fortune by the ſciences, which even in the judgment of the populace themſelves diſtinguiſh them amongſt their equals, after having cultivated them through inclination, continue attached to thoſe ſtudies both from inclination and principle of gratitude. In this reſpect France had no cauſe to envy England during the ſhort period of time in which learning paved the way to preferment in that

* Cicero explains the reaſon of this way of thinking, 'Sapientia. σόφια, ſcientia, cognitio, contemplatio, manca quodam modo atque inchoata eſt, ſi nulla rerum actio conſequatur: ea autem actio in aliorum commodis tuendis maximè cernitur.' Cic. de off.

kingdom;

kingdom: to it ſhe owed Budeus, Longueil Hopital, Thuanus, Pibrac, Pithou, &c. men worthy of ancient Rome, as well on account of the qualities of the mind, as thoſe of the heart.

Let us not conceal it from the reader, that about the ſame period France ſaw ſeveral men of intrigue riſe to the firſt honours, who were indebted to learning for a fortune which they did not otherwiſe deſerve. I have already ſpoken of cardinal Du Perron, the hero of theſe. He was a detracter of merit, and a bigot to the ſeveral prejudices which he found an intereſt in flattering; the judgments which he paſſed in his old age, upon ſubjects of the utmoſt importance to a French prelate, have the ſame character of falſehood with thoſe which he formed in his juvenile verſes upon the chief perſonages of his time. "In theſe poems the renowned queen Elizabeth "is repreſented as an old monſter, conceived "in inceſt and adultery, who, with teeth bent "upon murder, pollutes herſelf with crimes, "and vomits forth her rage and fury againſt the "heavens—The frightful Elizabeth, an inexorable fury." To make up for this, he conſiders Catherine of Medici, as "the honour of "the preſent time, and the greateſt object which "the hiſtory of paſt ages has conſecrated to "memory, as great, generous, laudable, and "beautiful." Impartial poſterity has adopted judgments, which are in every reſpect the reverſe of thoſe of that fawning courtier.

To form an eſtimate of the effect produced by literature in enlightening a ſtate, let us caſt an eye upon China. This empire is a ſtanding proof of the power of its immediate influence upon government: it maintains that kingdom

in

in an invariable vigour and florid health, which it has preſerved during ſo many centuries:

'Terram campoſque feraces
'Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
'Mens agitat molem, ac magno ſe corpore miſcet.'

The preſent conſtitution of England is ſaid to have been originally the work of Selden, Sandys, and other learned men, whoſe penetration enlightening the blind impetuoſity of the populace*, has by degrees brought the nation to that pitch of liberty, ſplendor, and majeſty, of which it is at this day ſo proudly jealous. If in our Northern climates we might preſume to promiſe ourſelves any thing permanent, learning, and the light which it diffuſes, would do as much for England, as they have already done for China: Apollo would for ever fix that new Delos, which has ſo long been floating and more agitated in its territories and its ports than the ocean that ſurrounds it †.

The ſtate of the ſciences in Great Britain affords ſufficient reaſon againſt the alarms that people have endeavoured to raiſe amongſt us, upon occaſion of the expulſion of the Jeſuits. All inſtruction centers in England ‡ in the two univerſities, which have neither monks nor commu-

* "Do not think," ſaid the great Boſſuet, "that "it was merely the quarrel concerning epiſcopacy, "or a few trifling diſputes about the liturgy, that "cauſed the general diſturbances. Thoſe diſputes "were only weak beginnings, by which the minds "of men made trial of their ſtrength." Funeral Oration on the Queen of England. Firſt Part.

† Boſſuet, above.

‡ Excluſive of Scotland and Ireland.

nities.

nities *. The counties, the capital itſelf, have no regular college; in a word private education is not yet become generally in vogue.

The condition of men of letters, either ſcattered up and down amongſt the citizens, or enrolled in learned ſocieties, has not the leaſt reſemblance in the two nations. Theſe ſocieties eſtabliſhed in England on the principles of independency, acknowledge no laws but thoſe under which they have laid themſelves: in the eye of an Engliſhman, the academies which Paris ſo much boaſts, are with reſpect to men of learning, what coops are to birds, and ponds to fiſhes †. The Engliſh conſider our penſions and court gratifications of learned men in no other light but as the wages of dependency to thoſe who receive them, and as ſhackles to the liberty of ſpeaking and writing ‡. In proof of the truth

* Monſ. le Beau, a ſupreme judge in matters of this ſort, looks upon the method of education followed in religious communities as little favourable "to the progreſs of learning. "This method," ſays he, in the Euloginm of the the abbe du Reſnel, "is more uſeful to the maſter than to the ſcholars "who ſtart with him, and whom he ſeldom gets "before in ſo ſhort a career. The principal object, "therefore, which communities propoſe to themſelves, is to form the minds of their pupils, and "give them a tincture of prophane learning."

† ——————— Cruſtis
Excipiunt homines quos in vivaria mittant.

‡ In the eſtabliſhment of academies, cardinal Richelieu, and the miniſters who ſucceeded him, had, as we are told by ſome French authors, this political view, to check and repreſs the tone of independence, which the ſpirit of faction and cabal had eſtabliſhed amongſt authors.

'In

truth of this aſſertion they mention on one hand the fate of the good abbé de St. Pierre, expelled the French academy for having ventured to ſuggeſt certain views contrary to thoſe which, during the regency, had determined the reſolutions of that aſſembly: on the other hand they quote the example of the celebrated author of the North Briton, who is a fellow of the Royal Society: whatever turn his affairs may take, he will ſtill retain that title, and have a ſeat there to the day of his death.

The bickering ſo frequent, ſo acrimonious, and ſo obſtinate between men of learning and genius, in the ſixteenth century, in France, ſoon gave way to the decency, which the academies made it a law to obſerve, to the politeneſs of behaviour which became general throughout the nation, and to the examples of moderation ſet by ſome of the heroes in ſcience and literature *.

The

' In vitium libertas excidit et vim
' Dignam lege regi: lex eſt accepta, choruſque
' Turpiter obmutuit.

* Such was M. de Fontenelle; perſecuted by Boileau and by a party, which, after having excluded him from the French academy, deſcended ſo low as to publiſh ballads againſt him, he perſiſted in obſerving that ſilence which ſuited his philoſophy and his character. I find in his works but two ſtrokes that ever eſcaped him againſt his perſecutors. In the Elogium of the marquis of Dangeau, he ſays: " A perſon who had " acquired a reputation, but which was then in its be- " ginning, wanted to get himſelf introduced at court " by M. de Dangeau; the perſon I mean was M. Deſ- " preaux, who addreſſed to that gentleman his Se- " cond Satire upon noble birth. The hero was well " choſen, both on account of his extraction and his

" reputation

The controverſy between the ancients and moderns is the laſt diſpute of any note, in which the laws of decency ſeem to have been neglected. England has followed the example of France; Bentley is the laſt Engliſh author who has ſignalized himſelf by illuſtrious enmities, ſupported by bitter invectives.

With regard to the language of men of learning in ſociety, the two nations are upon a level. In both, the poſitive, deciſive tone, or that of ſcornful ſupercilioufneſs, is the diſtinguiſhing mark of underlings, who, after having in ſome inferior college tormented and plagued their young ſcholars, bring into company that pedantic air of ſelf-ſufficiency, which rendered them ridiculous even in the eye of their pupils.

If we conſider men of learning in the light of citizens: in France, ſequeſtered from ſociety, and, as it were, in exile, they paſs their lives in a manner to all appearance uſeleſs both to the ſtate and themſelves; whilſt in England they are ſcattered amongſt the clergy, in the army, and the law; and, to the advantage of their country, diſcharge all the functions which it requires

" reputation for a taſte in poetry, as likewiſe " for his ſituation in life, and his inclination to " favour merit. Men of the moſt ſatirical and " miſanthropical diſpoſitions are ſufficiently maſters " of their paſſions, to keep fair with their patrons." In his elogium of M. de Valincourt: " his connexion " with that celebrated ſatyriſt, M. Deſpreaux, made " him adopt ſome of his opinions; as, for example, " the judgment which he paſſed againſt the chief of " our lyric poets; a judgment not to be ſupported " upon Parnaſſus, and to be received only in a tri- " bunal infinitely reſpectable, before which the ſaty- " riſt himſelf would hardly have been able to ſtand."

of

of thoſe ſeveral profeſſions; they ſupport literature and ſcience upon a ground, which would be uſurped by ignorance were they to forſake it. Memorials upon ſubjects relative to the deepeſt ſciences; thoſe, for example, in which they are to determine the longitude by the theory of the moon, are examined, diſcuſſed, and judged by lords ſpiritual and temporal; by members of the houſe of commons, who are, at the ſame time, buſied in parliament in diſcuſſing the moſt important intereſts of the nation; by magiſtrates, after hearing cauſes; by counſellors, who have juſt made an end of pleading, or giving their opinion; and by phyſicians, whoſe time is employed in viſiting their patients. In fine, a clergyman of London is one of the perpetual ſecretaries of the Royal Society, over which preſides the earl of Morton, one of the ſixteen peers who repreſent Scotland in the houſe of lords *.

All claſſes being thus filled up in England, which is neither burthened by eccleſiaſtics unconnected with the church by actual and neceſſary ſervice, nor by monks, nor beggars, it reſults from hence, that the 8,000,000 inhabitants, whom it may poſſibly contain, are equivalent to 12,000,000 under another government.

A country inhabited by an active people, always employed, is likely to have but few philoſophers, eſpecially amongſt the gentlemen of the long robe, whether judges or counſellors. Thus cardinal Sadolet expreſſes himſelf concerning the incompatibility of philoſophy with the magiſtracy and the bar, in a letter to young Ra-

* The rev. Dr. Birch was ſecretary when our author wrote theſe Obſervations.

nucius

nucius Farneſe, who was preſſed by his grandfather, Paul III. to attach himſelf to the ſtudy of the law. I ſhall take the liberty to inſert in a note the paſſage from that prelate's letter; a prelate who was as much a friend to philoſophy in ſpeculation, as true to it in practice *; but he wrote

* 'Si verum eſt quod ſæpè dictum eſt, talem quemque fieri hominem quales ſunt res & qualia ſunt ſtudia quibus ille ducitur, quid poteſt à juris ſcientia magnum præclarumque exiſtere, in quâ primum tenues ſunt res & minutæ, in quibus tractandis occupatus animus frangitur ipſe quoque & comminutur, ita ut vix amplum quoddam ac magnificum concipere poſtea poſſit. Deinde id quod etiam magis animadvertendum eſt, civile jus totum ad eam unam rem precipuè intentum eſt, ut de pecuniariis controverſiis, quibus maxime tumultuatur atque agitatur hominum genus, judicia reddantur; quo in genere qui verſantur, vel judicando, vel cauſas agendo, cum vident tantum hominum pecuniæ vel quærendæ vel retinendæ ſtudium, ipſi quoque vehementiore aliquâ pecuniæ cupiditate ſæpenumerò tanguntur. Quod unum ad adipiſcendam animi virtutem maximè homini infeſtum atque adverſum eſt.—At philoſophia, relictis iis ſollicitudinibus atque curis quæ ad compendium atque quæſtum pertinent, atque illis prorſus pro nihilo habitis, totum ſuſcipit hominem formandum ſibi atque expoliendum, ut ex his extractum ſordibus, quoad fieri poſſit, ſimilem Deo conſtituat, nihil ſibi quod ex-externum & fragile ſit avidè appetentem, conſulentem libentèr cæteris, omnia ſua bona in virtute poſita ducentem: quæ eſt una omnium difficillima humano generi ſcientia, &c.' "If the obſervation ſo often made, be true, that every man becomes ſuch as the objects and ſtudies to which he attaches himſelf, what can there be great and illuſtrious in the ſtudy of the law, the objects of which are, in the firſt place, things trivial and minute; and a mind buſied

" and

wrote and ſpoke in that manner in modern Rome.

Were we to extend to literature and ſcience this incompatibility, which cardinal Sadolet thinks he can diſcover between buſineſs and philoſophy, it would reſult from thence as a laſt and neceſſary conſequence, 'that ſtudious men are 'unfit for buſineſs:' a prejudice contrary to the Platonic maxim, according to which none but a people governed by philoſophers can be happy; a prejudice combated both by the example and the practice of England; a prejudice notwithſtanding conſtantly kept up, and faithfully tranſ-

"and intent upon the contemplation of them is ſo "broken and enfeebled, that it is afterwards unable to "conceive any thing noble and ſublime It is likewiſe "ſtill farther to be obſerved, that the whole ſcope of "the civil law is almoſt entirely confined to the ſingle "object of deciding cauſes relative to pecuniary "matters, by which moſt debates and contentions "amongſt men are occaſioned: now thoſe who are "concerned in this way, either as judges or plead-"ers, when they ſee men ſo earneſt about amaſſing "or hoarding up money, are often themſelves ſeized "with an inordinate love of lucre. This quality "alone is the higheſt obſtruction to the mind of men "in acquiring virtuous diſpoſitions.—But philoſophy "laying aſide thoſe cares and that ſolicitude, which "are inſeperable from the deſire of hoarding, and "utterly deſpiſing them, undertakes to form and po-"liſh the man, in order to raiſe him above ſuch "ſordid views, and make him as like a God as poſ-"ſible, deſiring no external goods, none of a frail "tranſitory nature, but doing all in his power to "ſerve others, conſidering all advantages as placed "in virtue: which, of all ſciences, is the moſt dif-"ficult to the human ſpecies," &c. Sadol. Epiſt. Ed. Colon. p. 711.

mitted,

mitted, ſays Mr. Hume, by fools of all ages and all conditions *.

A paſſion for books being the neceſſary reſult of a taſte for ſcience, of which they are inſtruments; and men of learning being in England ſcattered thro' all profeſſions, bookſelling is there a very intereſting branch of trade, both foreign and domeſtic.

I have already ſpoken of the injury ſuffered by books, from the black humidity of the atmoſphere of London. There is a great call for them in that capital, and they are of conſequence very dear. Several bookſellers publiſh every year a long catalogue of the books which they have purchaſed within the preceding twelvemonth; and, according to the practice introduced by the quakers, they fix in this catalogue, the loweſt price of every book.

The duties paid for all French commodities at the cuſtom-houſe of London are exorbitant; yet the London bookſellers find their account in importing from Paris a conſiderable quantity of books, which, though their reputation is fallen in France, retain in London the ſame degree of eſteem in which they were held originally: as for example, the Fathers publiſhed by the Benedictines, the great collections, the Greek editions printed either by the Stephens's, or by the ſociety formed at Paris about the middle of the laſt century. All the libraries which I have ſeen, and at which I have enquired concerning the prices of theſe books, ſurpriſed me by their being ſo exorbitant. I have ſeen a Philoſtratus, publiſhed by the ſociety of bookſellers at Paris, ſold for four guineas; a Plutarch, printed for

* Moral and political Eſſay upon Eloquence.

the ſame ſociety, for ſix guineas; the Greek poets, by Henry Stephens, for four guineas; Anacreon, in 4to. by Henry Stephens, three guineas, &c. Theſe books go off the more expeditiouſly in commerce, as thoſe ſent over to the colonies are ſold, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, for their weight in gold, to perſons who are magnificent even in their whims.

Thus literature and books, after having been tranſported from Egypt to Greece, and from thence to Italy and France, are removing to England, and from thence to the New World, whither our poſterity may, perhaps, transfer the ſeat of empire, and leave Europe plunged in its former barbariſm. The new world will then be to England, what Magna Græcia was to Greece, properly ſo called, that is to ſay, the ſeat of ſcience, literature, and philoſophy: then France falling under the deſpotiſm of the new druids, will ſee only by their eyes, and hear only with their ears. We need not be affected with compaſſion for the fate of our poſterity in that period: not only folly and ſtupidity, but ignorance and barbariſm, procure men that unalterable ſelf-ſatisfaction, which, even in this life, make ſo many happy.

I have already obſerved that the preſs enjoys the moſt complete freedom in England: even individuals are allowed to have private preſſes in their own houſes. Mr. Walpole has one at his ſeat at Twickenham, where he prints his favourite authors, ancient and modern, for the uſe of himſelf and his friends. I have ſeen a Lucan, in 4to, from this preſs, which is, in every reſpect, a moſt elegant edition.

From the Muſeum, which has led me to this digreſſion, I ſhall proceed to other eſtabliſhments equally

equally honourable to England. The hoſpital erected at Greenwich for the invalids of the royal marine, muſt firſt engage our attention. A ſpectator is puzzled which to admire moſt, the magnificence of the ſtructure, the beauty of the ſituation, or the great attention which has been given to every thing that can contribute to ſalubrity, elegance, or even pleaſure.

This hoſpital is ſituated on the declivity of a hill, where the palace ſtood in which queen Elizabeth was born, who choſe rather to reſide in that than in any of her other manſion-houſes; it has on one ſide the Thames, which, by its winding forms an elbow ſo as to ſeem to return to London, which is but two leagues diſtant: the firſt area is ſeparated from the river only by an iron baluſtrade. There veſſels of all ſizes, and from all parts of the globe, paſs and repaſs. As the tacking about, occaſioned by the elbow of the river, retards the progreſs of the veſſel, the ſailors avail themſelves of this circumſtance to bring news to the invalids, or to aſk them different queſtions; the converſation laſts as long as they are within hearing; and this converſation is animated by that effuſion of heart, ſo uſual amongſt old comrades, who have been a long time abſent from each other, or who think this interview may be their laſt.

The whole edifice conſiſts of two double wings, fronting the Thames, and ſeparated by an area of an oblong form, divided into landing-places, the great ſtone-ſteps of which are ſuited to the unevenneſs of the ground: the wings are cut by pavillions, which project upon the area: at each ſtair-caſe is to be ſeen the decoration of theſe pavillions, conſiſting of three orders of architecture, which produce a fine effect, by the

proſpect they afford to ſuch as ſail down from London, as well as to thoſe who view this grand edifice from the principal landing place. The plan of this building requires, that it ſhould be terminated by a ſingle pavillion, with a great portico, ſupported by columns, and a dome, which, by a gentle aſcent, will command the other two pavillions. The ground ſet apart for this, is, in the mean time, occupied by a pleaſure-houſe, which, tho' of a conſiderable ſize, appears to be little better than a coop for poultry. The buildings neceſſary for lodging the ſeveral officers belonging to the houſe, are placed behind the two wings.

This hoſpital generally maintains about 1000 diſabled ſeamen. They are lodged in galleries which run from right to left, and contain a double row of uniform chambers, with ſix beds in each. The beds are incloſed and placed three on each ſide. Each chamber being open at top, at the diſtance of three feet from the cieling, has a door and a window, in a line parallel to thoſe of the oppoſite chamber.

In conſequence of this diſpoſition of the rooms, of the circulation of the air which it occaſions, and of the neatneſs which may be compared to that of the cells of our nuns, the whole inſide of this hoſpital has quite a different appearance from that of the ſame kind of buildings in other countries.

All the other hoſpitals in England are in the ſame condition: the horrors of poverty do not aggravate thoſe of death; patients, on the contrary, are, generallly ſpeaking, in a much more cleanly way, and better accommodated there than they could be in their own habitations. Theſe houſes have a variety of apartments for the

the reception of the different ſorts of patients, built in ſolitary pavillions, as well to prevent a communication, as to promote a circulation of air: this I took particular notice of at the hoſpital for ſailors at Portſmouth. Thoſe hoſpitals, whoſe apartments are under the ſame roof, have the conveniency of ventilators, to introduce freſh air.

The invalids of Greenwich put on two clean ſhirts a week; they likewiſe receive a trifle of pocket-money for their little occaſional wants. In the hall where they eat, each perſon has a cupboard, in which he locks up his napkin, knife, and fork, &c. and as much as he thinks proper to ſave out of his dinner, or ſupper. Their victuals are ſerved up upon great marble tables, but they are not very nice about their table-cloths. This hoſpital has a great ſtair-caſe of that ſort which the Engliſh call Geometrical, and with which they are fond of adorning their houſes. They are made of large Portland ſtones, which being joined together only by the ſlight contact of half an inch one over the other, preſent to the eye a ſtair-caſe hanging in the air.

Free liberty of religion reigns at Greenwich-hoſpital: the Diſſenters are allowed to go to London twice a week, to attend the ſervice of the Calviniſt religion, &c. * At the extremity of each gallery is a corner, open to all comers, with benches on each ſide, and a large deſk with a neat Engliſh Bible in folio. I found theſe

* According to the preſent practice of the church of England, the grave, which throughout the globe, confounds all conditions, unites at Greenwich all religions in one common burying-ground.

corners filled with penſioners, ſome of whom were reading, and others waiting for their turn. Thoſe of the church of England, repair at the hour of ſervice to a large and beautiful chapel, which fills one of the pavillions.

The pavillion, oppoſite to that of the chapel, has a royal hall, the wainſcot and cieling of which, are adorned with paintings by Sir James Thornhill, who, under emblems in the taſte of thoſe of the apartments at Verſailles, has repreſented the triumphs of Great Britain.

The eſtabliſhment of this hoſpital muſt have contributed to theſe triumphs. The aſylum which it promiſes to all thoſe who ſerve aboard the royal navy, was one of the beſt encouragements to ſailors that could poſſibly be thought of. Engliſh policy went ſtill farther: the children of any man that dies aboard the fleet in the king's ſervice, become the children of the ſtate, which is charged with the care of their education, their ſupport, and their eſtabliſhment.

Such of thoſe boys as are moſt promiſing, are received in the marine ſchool, founded by king William, in Greenwich hoſpital. This ſchool conſiſts of fourteen ſcholars: amongſt the old mariners who look upon them as their own offspring, they learn navigation, and every other branch requiſite for the ſea-ſervice. After having paſt ſix years in theſe ſtudies, they go down to Portſmouth, where twice a week they learn the practical part of navigation at ſea. This ſchool produces the beſt mariners in England, that is to ſay, thoſe who are employed by the ſtate in preference to perſons of family: for the Engliſh judge of men according to the axiom,

ſom, 'Prius eſt eſſe quam eſſe tale *:' is there, ſay they, any genealogiſt, who would not reſpect the pedigree of Drake, Forbiſher, Hawkins, &c.

Objects of emulation and inſtruction are ſcattered up and down amongſt the very ornaments of Greenwich-hoſpital. The principal gate has two great pillars; and the arms of Great Britain, which they were to bear according to cuſtom, have their places ſupplied by two ſtone globes, one celeſtial, the other terraqueous. Theſe globes are of the largeſt ſize: upon the terraqueous globe, a projecting line of gold repreſents admiral Anſon's famous voyage round the world. How delightful is it to thoſe invalids, who accompanied him in this expedition, when, with their eyes fixed upon this globe, they give their comrades an account of their adventures! Can any other leſſon be more likely to make an impreſſion upon the imagination of the young pupil? What inſcription, or ſcutcheon, could with greater dignity adorn a building intended for mariners, who have ended, or who are beginning their career? There I learned with aſtoniſhment, that they have no regiſter of Engliſh ſailors to ſerve aboard the navy; but that upon the firſt emergency, if the number of volunteers happens to be inſufficient, it is completed by preſſing: and all this without infringing national liberty, as they affirm.

Upon the ridge of the hill at Greenwich ſtands the obſervatory, ſo famous for the labours of the celebrated Halley, who there ſpent a part of his life,

* The idea of exiſtence is prior to that of its modes or qualities. T.

'Mediis in nubibus hærens.'

This obſervatory being deſigned for the inſtruction of pupils in nautical aſtronomy, is a dependance upon the hoſpital of Greenwich: the expences of keeping the building in repair, of making new inſtruments, and the ſalaries of the profeſſors, are taken out of the funds of the hoſpital. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that no obſervatory is better furniſhed, either with regard to number, or choice of inſtruments: it was for this place, and for his friend Halley, that Sir Iſaac Newton undertook to bring the teleſcope to perfection. The preſent aſtronomer-royal is Dr. Maſkelyne, from whom I met with a politeneſs and complaiſance, which men, ſo eminent for learning, do not ſhew every ſtranger.

The obſervatory is as deſerving of admiration on account of its ſituation, as it is reſpectable for its uſe; it exhibits the fineſt, the moſt exquiſite, and the grandeſt landſcape in England. In a ſpace of five or ſix leagues on every ſide, the centre of which is occupied by London, it takes in the moſt agreeable part of the courſe of the Thames, ſurrounded by fields, which are covered with villages, palaces, and country-houſes; a proſpect comparable to that of Lombardy at the deſcent of the Alps, or the Apennines; or rather to that of the country about Rome, ſeen from the eminences of Tibur and Tuſculum, during the moſt flouriſhing times of the empire.

A compariſon between Chelſea-hoſpital and that of Greenwich, ſhews the difference which the Engliſh policy makes between the land and ſea-

ſea-ſervice. The former, built at the diſtance of half a league from London, in the midſt of a fine garden, bounded by the Thames to the eaſt, conſiſts of a large pavillion, with two wings, which run out towards the Thames; the whole is conſtructed of brick, upon a plan of the ſame architect who erected St. Paul's, with great ſtone pillars in the front of the building. It is not capable of holding above five or ſix hundred invalids, who are kept with a cleanlineſs which appears altogether aſtoniſhing to ſtrangers in a houſe of this ſort. I happened to be once preſent when the cloth was laid, and ſaw them ſup in public: the refectories of our richeſt Benedictine monks are hog-ſties in compariſon of that of this hoſpital.

The invalids are allowed two ſhirts a week, and every year new bed-cloaths. The great love of cleanlineſs, natural to the Engliſh, has made the place of matron one of the moſt important and honourable employs belonging to this hoſpital. This woman has a good apartment, a genteel ſalary, with very handſome perquiſites. The governor's houſe, and thoſe of the other officers belonging to the hoſpital, are contiguous to the main building.

Charles II. was the founder of this eſtabliſhment, which has ſince been increaſed and brought to perfection by James II. and by king William. In the midſt of the court is to be ſeen a pedeſtrian bronze ſtatue of the firſt of theſe princes, upon a marble pedeſtal, adorned with figures in baſſo relievo.

I have already ſpoken of the hoſpital at Portſmouth, built in the midſt of the two laſt wars, and compoſed of detached parts, all conſpiring in one general plan, the grandeur of which is

not ſo much in the ornaments as in the building itſelf.

This hoſpital has beds for 3000 patients, that is to ſay, 3000 beds, in which patients are not obliged to lie two and two, except (which has not hitherto happened) their number exceeds that of beds. The cleanlineſs of the place is equal to that of Greenwich and Chelſea. The doctor, and the officers have ſeparate apartments of their own. The ſituation of this hoſpital is neither leſs advantageous, nor leſs agreeable to mariners, than that of the hoſpital at Greenwich. The patients can there ſee from their windows, and in a manner from their beds, the Iſle of Wight, Spithead, St. Helen's, all the veſſels that are toſſed about in the Bay, and all that enter or go out of Portſmouth.

This port is the chief receptacle of thoſe maritime forces, which preſent to our view all that ſacred and prophane antiquity admired in the haughty city of Tyre * : it is the ſeat of empire of the queen of the ſeas:

'Hîc illius arma,
'Hîc currus fuit: hoc regnum dea gentibus eſſe,
'Si quà fata ſinant, jam tum tenditque fovetque.'

We paſſed a whole day with very genteel and agreeable company, at the head of whom was the commiſſioner of Portſmouth, in taking a view of the port and all its dependencies.

It is formed, like that of Boulogne, by the mouth of a little river, where the ſea has ſcooped out to itſelf a vaſt baſon, with which it com-

* Deſcribed by Ezekiel, ch. xxvii.

municates

municates only by a very narrow mouth: little hills ſurround this port, and ſhelter it from the winds.

Its entrance is defended by a double bar, or ſand-bank, which does not ſuffer large veſſels to approach without paſſing cloſe to a rock covered by batteries, the fire of which defends the entrance and reaches to a conſiderable part of the bay. The grandeſt of theſe batteries is of fifty pieces, forty-eight pounders: it is the ſame which queen Elizabeth cauſed to be placed there, to repel the armada of Philip II. and which was fired with a ſucceſs univerſally known againſt that part of the enemy's fleet which came within its reach. The guns though made of iron ſeem juſt come out of the furnace: the matter is neither leſs compact nor leſs ſmooth than bronze; indeed the Engliſh pretend to be poſſeſſed of the ſecret of caſting iron in a manner ſuperior to all other nations of Europe.

Till the reign of Charles II. this port had no other defence but an old fort, which is ſtill ſtanding, where that prince received the infanta of Portugal when ſhe landed in England. The promontory occupied by the town of Portſmouth has been ſince encompaſſed with regular fortifications, of which that old fort is the key.

To direct the courſe of veſſels ſailing through the mouth of this port between the two banks, this promontory has beacons which are taken away in war-time.

But Portſmouth is leſs remarkable for its port than its bay, which is capable of holding ſeveral navies. This bay is a great canal formed by the iſle of Wight, the jutting out of which to the extent of ſeven leagues, whilſt it breaks the

the fury of the waves *, affords ſhelter againſt the violence of the ocean, aga n't the winds, and againſt enemies, who are afraid of entangling themſelves in the canal, though ſhips may ſail in and out with the ſame wind, returning the way they came. We were ſhewn at St. Helen's point, the colours borne during the laſt war by a French privateer, which appeared in the bay itſelf and even had the boldneſs to take prizes there.

In the port we ſaw 150 veſſels of different ſizes unrigged, and appearing to the eye like great floating trunks: eight of them only, ſtill having all their maſts up, could upon the firſt order, ſail out in twenty-four hours.

In the midſt of theſe veſſels we ſaw the Britannia, which, for its bulk and ſtate, is the ſame as the whale with reſpect to other ſea-monſters: it is pierced for 110 cannons. To know how to conſtruct and to work veſſels of this magnitude, is certainly the maſter-piece of human induſtry †. England has ſuch another, called the Royal-George, the conſtruction of which is ſo complete that it can be as eaſily worked as a frigate. The Britannia was one of the veſſels ſent againſt St. Cas.

* ' Inſula portum
' Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
' Frangitur, inque ſinus ſcindit ſeſe unda reductos.

† Homer ſays of the Phœnicians concerning their ſkill in this art, then in its beginning:

Τόσσον φαίηκες περὶ πάντων ἴδριες ἀνδρῶν
Νῆα θοὴν ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἐλαυνέμεν ὡς δὲ γυναῖκες
Ἰσὸν τεύχησαι. Περὶ γὰρ σφίσι δῶκεν Αθήνη
Ἔργα τ' ἐϋεργέσθαι περικαλλέα, καὶ φρένας ἐσθλὰς.

Odyſſ. L. vii. 110.

The

The ſervice done by theſe enormous ſhips is by no means proportioned to the great expence which they occaſion; being more for oſtentation than real uſe; they make much the ſame figure in the Engliſh navy as the Bucentaur in that of Venice: the Engliſh themſelves ſay that they have them only becauſe France choſe to have them; and that they will lay them aſide as ſoon as ſhe thinks proper to ſet the example.

In going through the port we paſſed by ſome French ſhips taken in the laſt war. The Couronne was one of the largeſt. We likewiſe ſaw in the dock a veſſel belonging to the king of Spain, which was there unrigging. It had been built in America: the timber work was all cedar, and the deck was Acacia wood. The keel was covered with carved work half deep: this we were deſired to obſerve as ſomething remarkable.

By the Engliſh account, and according to a memorial which we inſpected, the French navy loſt in the laſt war 104 veſſels, either taken, wrecked, or burnt; and the navy of England loſt only thirty-nine, which were in a great meaſure ſupplied by captures from the enemy.

In the artillery yard we ſaw a ſet of guns entirely new caſt, for the Centaur, a French man of war. Theſe guns are not of the ſame caliber, or the ſame length, as the cannon aboard the French fleet.

The Engliſh conſider the diminution of length as an advantage, becauſe every time a piece is fired off, it is hawled back into the veſſel, where they charge it with eaſe, having ſhut the port-holes. On the contrary, as the French charge without-ſide the veſſel, under the enemy's fire, they

they do it aukwardly, both the loading and the bullet frequently falling into the ſea. The Engliſh prefer the firſt method both as moſt advantageous to the ſervice of the artillery, and as calculated to ſave men's lives; ſince it not only contributes to the ſecurity of thoſe who charge the guns, but likewiſe of ſuch as are working or giving orders between the decks, who are expoſed to the fire of the enemy only when the port-hole is opened.

They urge farther in favour of their method: 1. That it is falſe that a cannon carries in proportion to the length of the piece. 2. That the long guns, when out of the reach to which their ſhort cannon carries, make more noiſe than they do hurt, and conſume ammunition to no purpoſe. 3. That within the reach of their cannon, there is a perfect equality. 4. That their firſt care in attacks is to place themſelves within that reach.

The Engliſh have likewiſe much fewer men aboard their ſhips than the French. Hence it ariſes, as admiral Byng alledged in his defence, that, generally ſpeaking, ſix or twelve French veſſels have the advantage over the ſame number of Engliſh.

To this the Engliſh anſwer: 1. That with the ſame number of men it is better to ſend three ſhips to ſea than only two. 2. That engagements happen ſeldomer at ſea than at land; and that it is ill judged to take our meaſures from what happens moſt rarely. 3. That any number of men above thoſe neceſſary for ſervice, has no other effect but to diſturb and impede it. 4. That in long voyages or cruiſes, the ſtowage of proviſions is reduced by the diminution of mouths. 5. That the ſalubrity of air aboard a veſſel,

a veſſel, and the health of the men, are proportioned to the number of the crew.

The Engliſh avail themſelves of thoſe ſailors whom their wounds have rendered unfit for ſervice. They make them do the buſineſs of cooks, or ſweep the decks, the ſimplicity of Engliſh cookery makes any man capable of the former employ; the latter is of importance in point of cleanlineſs, and thoſe who perform it are conſtantly employed in rubbing and waſhing the inſide of the veſſel. We ſaw in the ſtreets of Portſmouth a ſailor who in the laſt war had had both his arms ſhot off; he was not even then quite uſeleſs. We gave him a few ſhillings, which we put into a little bag, hanging from one of his button-holes.

Portſmouth has no troops but what are neceſſary to keep an inconſiderable guard in the dock: the ramparts, the forts and the batteries themſelves have neither guards nor centinels. As we cloſed the day by viſiting the inſide of the old fort, we found there only two unarmed invalids: they were quietly dreſſing their ſupper at the foot of a ruinous tower. The commiſſioner ſmartly told them, that they ſhould at leaſt have the draw-bridge ſecured. They continued to eat their ſupper notwithſtanding the rebuke, leaving things, no doubt, in their uſual ſtate.

We were aſtoniſted at this ſecurity. Upon ſignifying our ſurprize to the commiſſioner, he told us: that England ſubſiſted by œconomy; that ſhe employed men only in the moſt indiſpenſible ſervices, and that the peace fully ſecured her from any danger of being moleſted by France. He told us of the terrible panick with which the kingdom had been ſtruck by the flat-

bottomed

bottomed boats, in the laſt war, when the French threatened to invade England. Theſe boats afterwards ſerved as tranſports to carry the French priſoners back to France. The commiſſioner, who had ſeen them, aſſured us that they were very well adapted to the purpoſe for which they had been conſtructed.

Portſmouth has a dock for repairing the old ſhips of the royal navy and building new ones. But this dock though very conſiderable, is nothing in compariſon of thoſe of Woolwich and Chatham. I ſaw only the parks and magazines belonging to the two laſt. All acceſs to the places where veſſels are built, was forbidden the French by an expreſs order of the lords of the admiralty: the pretext for this order was, the unpolite treatment which ſome Engliſh perſons of diſtinction affirmed they had received at St. Maloes, and of which they complained to the government.

A view of theſe parks and magazines, as well as of Portſmouth, conveys the higheſt idea of the naval force of England: a force infinitely ſuperior to that which Auguſtus diſtributed through the ports of Frejus, Carthage, Alexandria, Miſenum and Ravenna, for the ſecurity of the ſeas compriſed within the whole extent of the Roman empire.

For this naval force England is indebted to Cromwell. By the navigation-act that uſurper did his country the ſame ſervice, which the Athenians had received from Themiſtocles, when he perſuaded them to fly to houſes and citadels of wood. This act being confirmed and renewed by Charles II. in 1660, had an effect almoſt inſtantaneous. Sir Joſhua Child obſerves in his Treatiſe on Commerce, that England, which

which in the reign of Charles I. had not three merhant-ſhips of 300 tuns, had under Charles II. above 400 veſſels of that burden. It ſhould at the ſame time be obſerved that the act of navigation was levelled againſt the Dutch, who then carried on the commerce of all Europe in general, and particularly that of England *.

The proſcription of the royal family completed what Cromwell had begun for the re-ſtabliſhment of the naval force of England. Charles II. the duke of York his brother, prince Rupert his couſin, and all the noble exiles of that court, had been received by Holland. The ſea was the only reſource left to thoſe illuſtrious adventurers to try their fortune: they therefore attached themſelves to it with an ardour little to be expected from the education of princes and great lords. An extenſive knowledge of the ſeveral branches of the art of navigation, a knowledge, in ſhort improved by experience, was the fruits of this ardour. Charles II. upon his reſtoration, cultivated the ſtudy of naval affairs, as much through inclination as reaſons of ſtate: "He employed his leiſure-time in experiments upon navigation, of which, ſays Sorbiere, he had a profound knowledge. By his orders lord Brouncher tried what ſort of wood ſwam beſt upon the water, and under what conſtruction a veſſel ſailed moſt eaſily. In ſome converſation upon this ſubject, adds Sorbiere, I heard of a ſhip of two keels and two maſts a-breſt, which bearing two ſails, might

* The war which terminated the peace of Nimeguen, was rendered remarkable on the part of the Dutch by many inſtances of their reſentment on account of the act of navigation.

receive

receive more wind, ſink leſs deep in the water, and of conſequence move faſter. Certain it is that the ſcience of maritime mechanics has been greatly promoted by this royal curioſity." This is an obſervation made by a Frenchman at his return from London in 1663. Charles II. had admitted him into his cabinet, where he cauſed him to examine a globe of the moon, upon which all the protuberances of that planet were repreſented in their relative proportion. His majeſty then converſed with him upon an aſtronomical problem.

Europe afterwards ſaw the duke of York, prince Rupert, and moſt of the noblemen who had followed the king to Holland, ſhine in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner in the ſea-ſervice, and animate it with that ſpirit which a noble emulation has continued to this day *.

The navy of Great Britain is indebted to this ſpirit for the prodigious increaſe of its ſtrength, the improved conſtruction of its veſſels, the perfection of the naval manœuvre, the art of making ſignals, the punctuality of ſervice, and in fine for thoſe laws, the execution of which upon the unfortunate admiral Byng, determined its ſuperiority in the laſt war.

England owes to its ſituation, the taſte of its inhabitants for maritime affairs, and their views of improvement. From that taſte and thoſe views

* The Engliſh compare to the greateſt men they ever had in the ſea-ſervice our Abraham Duqueſne, who died in 1688, in the 78th year of his age in the Proteſtant perſuaſion, in which he was born, and who was for that reaſon meanly buried by the ſide of a ditch, at his eſtate at Bouchet, near Etampes. Hiſtory of the Dioceſe of Paris, by the Abbé le Beuf, Tom. II. p. 68.

it

it might be expected that they ſhould have had the honour of diſcovering and conquering the new world, in preference to the Spaniards, who at the time of that great event, were hardly able to manage their wars upon the continent.

Hence my lord Bacon, in his Hiſtory of Henry VII. affirms that accident alone prevented the Engliſh from making that diſcovery. Columbus, ſays that author, had ſent his brother Bartholemew to England to lay his plan which had been rejected by the king of Portugal, before that court, but he was taken by pirates; Columbus impatient at not hearing from him, went to offer his ſervices to Ferdinand and Iſabella.

To repair this miſtake Henry VII. liſtened readily to the propoſals which were made him by Sebaſtian Gabati, a Venetian, for the diſcovery of a northern paſſage to the Indian ocean. This expedition, in which the merchants of London embarked, gave occaſion to the diſcovery of the Terra de Labrador.

The conqueſt of the new world, which Cromwell had been long meditating againſt the Spaniards, was prevented by nothing but the death of that uſurper. The Engliſh reſumed the deſign at the death of Charles II. king of Spain, and that deſign had a conſiderable ſhare in the part which they took in the war concerning the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. They ought to think it a happineſs, that it has failed, if the prediction of the abbé Dubos, which I cited at the article of Colonies has any foundation; if, as hiſtory proves, great conqueſts were always, in regard to England, a prelude to the moſt fatal revolutions *.

* See the Hiſtory of Edward III. and Henry V. or rather of Richard II. and Henry VI. &c.

THE

THE POLITE ARTS.

The progreſs of the Engliſh in the polite arts has not been extraordinary. Amongſt the travellers of that kingdom, that is amongſt the greater part of the gentry and nobility, there are numbers of connoiſſeurs *, who indulge this taſte with all the impetuoſity of their national genius: they have not, however, been as yet ſucceſsful in forming artiſts capable of vying with thoſe, who ſprung up ſo faſt in Greece, Italy, and even in France, at the command of a Pericles, of the houſe of Medici, or of Colbert.

The preſent ſtate of the polite arts in England, is a ſubject that has employed ſome able pens. My obſervations concerning this article, will be only an inconſiderable ſketch, but faithful and free from prejudice; I ſubmit it to the opinion of thoſe artiſts, who are maſters of the ſubject, and dare to judge for themſelves.

To begin with thoſe arts, which have drawing for their common baſis, they were in the middle ages cultivated in England with a ſucceſs to which the writers of thoſe times bear teſtimony. Leo of Oſtia, who wrote at the beginning

* Moſt of theſe connoiſſeurs follow their own whims in employing able artiſts to deſign extravagant ſubjects, which exiſt only in their own brain, and which it is impoſſible to underſtand the meaning of, for want of a key. The collection of Engliſh prints in the poſſeſſion of Abbé Trublet, is well known at Paris; they are about a dozen, and beautifully engraved; they were a preſent from an Engliſhman to the Abbé, who is unacquainted himſelf with the ſubject. Such likewiſe were thoſe prints, which furniſhed M. Duclos with the ſubject of his Acajou.

of

of the twelfth century, ſpeaks in his Chronicle of Mount Caſin, book II. chap. xxxiv. of a ſhrine, which made part of the treaſure of that monaſtery: the Engliſh artiſt, ſays he, there laviſhed ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones with as much profuſion as eaſe *. The book of the Anniverſaries of the Vatican Baſilica, publiſhed by Roſſi at the End of the Life of Boniface VIII. p. 345, makes mention of five ſuits of ſilver embroidery, of which three were 'de opere Cypri-'enſi & unum de opere Anglicano.' If the treaſures of theſe monaſteries, and baſilicas, which have preſerved the moſt precious remains of antiquity, and which at the revival of the arts furniſhed them with their firſt models, were thought to be honoured by Engliſh artiſts, or thoſe who followed the taſte of that nation; it is to be preſumed that theſe performances ſtruck the eye by the fineneſs, brilliancy and elegance of the execution, which to this day characterize every piece of Engliſh handicraft. Such are thoſe ſciſſars incumbered with ornaments, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Perhaps the 'opus Anglicum' was that ſpecies of filigrane, which required as much patience as dexterity of hand in the artiſt.

The writer of the exploits of William the Conqueror bears a teſtimony equally advantageous to the ſkill of the Engliſh women, who lived in the age of that prince, with regard to

* 'Loculus iſte mirificus argento, auro, gemmiſ-'que, Anglico opere, ſubtiliter ac pulcherrimè de-'coratus.' "That wonderful ſhrine, adorned with "the utmoſt art and elegance, with ſilver, gold, "and jewels, by Engliſh workmanſhip."

embroidery

embroidery and all ſorts of needlework *. The artiſts of thoſe times were judged by their peers, whoſe teſtimony ſhould be eſtimated according to the taſte of the middle age, a taſte equally limited and indelicate.

HISTORY PAINTING.

The reputation of Mr. Hayman, a painter in this branch, is ſtrongly confirmed by the four large pictures of that maſter, which adorn the ſalon lately added to the rotunda of Vauxhall. The place which thoſe pictures were to occupy, and the ſubjects which they repreſent, have had upon the imagination and pencil of the artiſt all the effect they ought to have; he has ſurpaſſed himſelf in thoſe four pictures; and the three pieces of his, which I have ſeen at the exhibition †, can by no means come in competition with them.

England has loſt by the deaths of Meſſieurs Hogarth, and Highmore, two ingenious artiſts who rivalled Mr. Hayman in hiſtory painting. I have ſeen four pictures of the firſt at the celebrated Mr. Garrick's, to whom he had left them by will. Theſe pictures are in the taſte of the old Breugel: we there ſee nature herſelf in acti-

* ' Anglicæ nationis fœminæ multàm acu & auri ' textu â, egregiè viri in omni valent artificio. " The " Engliſh women have great ſkill at needle-work and " embroidery, the men are admirable at works of " art of all ſorts."

† public expoſition of their works, made by the Engliſh painters, after the manner of that of the Louvre. This exhibition laſted during the whole month of May, at Spring-Garden, near St. James's Park.

on,

on, in the ſeveral ſcenes exhibited at taverns, fairs, markets, which the Engliſh theatre repreſents moſt faithfully: it is pure nature, but nature too naked and too true: a truth very different from that diſplayed by the pictures of two of the maſters of the preſent French ſchool, Meſſieurs Chardin and Greuſe. Hogarth has painted a great deal; England is filled with prints from his drawings, and they are ſold at a very high price. It is to be preſumed that he originally employed his talents in the nobleſt way, which led him to the Analyſis of Beauty.

That treatiſe is a very metaphyſical explanation of an obſcure paſſage in Pliny, which confines the whole art of painting to the delicacy and preciſion of the contours. Pliny, lib. xxxv. c. 6.

The author of this treatiſe has very faintly hit off his ſubject in a large picture, one of the ornaments of the Foundling Hoſpital: in this piece he rivalled the three other painters whom I have already named.

This competition can alone procure England hiſtorical painters; and that nation has the ſame reſource to eſtabliſh it, which contributed moſt to the ſucceſs of the French ſchool, I mean the competition ſet on foot in the laſt century, by the company of goldſmiths, for the pictures which at preſent adorn the cathedral of Paris. The French ſchool has returned this favour of the goldſmiths, by eſtabliſhing at Paris that taſte, which diſtinguiſhes whatever comes from their hands.

The nakedneſs of St. Paul's church offers a noble field for the competition; if the goldſmith's of London would copy the example. The manner in which thoſe of the reformed religion

ligion have underſtood the ſecond Commandment, more or leſs rigidly in proportion to the greater or leſs degree of fanaticiſm in each ſect, cannot at preſent be a very formidable obſtacle to the Engliſh. The common people of London would not be more prone than thoſe of Paris to worſhip the perſons repreſented by the pictures in the cathedral: they would conſider theſe images in the ſame light as they do thoſe with which Sir James Thornhill has embelliſhed the cupola of St. Paul's: they would contemplate the picture of the converſion of St. Paul with the ſame eye, with which they ſee it in the baſſo relievo of the great portal of that baſilica: the reſpect which the populac of Rome itſelf pays to the pictures that adorn St. Peter's, is no more than a bare admiration excited by the exquiſite performances of firſt-rate artiſts. In fine, do the Engliſh themſelves give the name of idolaters to their countrymen, who upon purchaſing in Italy an original picture, or a ſuppoſed original, of the Virgin Mary, by ſome great artiſt, place it with the utmoſt reſpect in their principal apartment.

The fanaticiſm of the independents baniſhed all paintings on glaſs from the churches, where they had maintained their ground notwithſtanding the Reformation: theſe paintings, however, have been reſtored, together with the church of England, to whoſe principles, figures upon cloth or wood are not more oppoſite than thoſe upon glaſs.

'Tis the buſineſs of the Society of Arts to determine how far the expedient propoſed may be compatible with received prejudices. By adopting this expedient, St. Paul's church will obtain a decoration, that muſt give it a greater reſemblance

reſemblance to St. Peter's, which was originally intended: the taſte for ornaments of this nature ſoon extending to other ſacred edifices, will open a ſchool of painting in England, which it muſt want ſo long as its artiſts are not excited by ſo powerful a motive of emulation.

If we may believe the abbé Winkelman * in his Hiſtory of Arts amongſt the Ancients (Tom. i. ſect. iii.) where he conſiders the influence of the climate upon the diſpoſition of a people, relative to the arts; the Engliſh, on account of this very diſpoſition and the effect of the climate, have never yet had a ſingle painter of reputation. He adds: "the French, excepting "two only, are in the ſame predicament "with the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the great "ſums they have expended, and the endeavours "they have uſed to riſe to perfection."

PORTRAIT PAINTING.

The views of the Engliſh with regard to poſterity have determined their taſte to this ſort of painting, for which they pay extremely dear.

One of the halls of Windſor palace contains all the choiceſt pieces of this ſort poſſeſſed by the Engliſh; theſe are a collection of Portraits by Lelly, repreſenting the women who adorned the court of the voluptuous Charles II. it is a kind of commentary upon the celebrated Memoirs of the Chevalier de Grammont.

The king, and the noble families of England, are poſſeſſed of ſeveral portraits by Van-

* The abbé Winkelman does not name theſe two painters. Pouſſin is one of them: I leave the nomination of the other to painters.

dike; portraits, which are generally ſpeaking, more precious on account of the artiſt, than of the perſons they repreſent.

I happened one day to ſee, at an auction-room, a very valuable picture of Charles I. he was repreſented ſtanding upright before a table, and armed cap-a-pee; at his ſide ſat the queen his conſort, with the two princes his ſons, about five or ſix years of age; all figures as big as the life, and worthy of the pencil of Vandyke, to whom this picture is aſcribed. The queen is there employed in a very extraordinary manner; ſhe adjuſts the moſt indecent part of the king's armour,

'Cet endroit delicat
'Où la curaſſe à l'aiguillette eſt jointe. P. ch. x.

At the extremity of the frame which contains theſe figures, lies an arrow broke in two pieces.

England for ſome years enjoyed Michael Vanloo, firſt painter to the king of Spain, who had a great genius for this ſpecies of painting; at the public exhibition of 1765, there were ſome pictures by this maſter; amongſt which, two held a diſtinguiſhed place, one, that of his own family; and the other, that of Mr. Charles Vanloo, his nephew; both which pieces were ſeen the ſame year at the Louvre.

I have ſeen ſome portraits by Sir Joſhua Reynolds, who adopts the grand taſte, which is that of Vandyke. In one of theſe pictures, repreſenting a family, the mother holds by the arm a ſuſpended child, the body of which thrown horizontally, leans upon that arm. When I obſerved that this attitude was ſomewhat extraordinary, I was told that it would be

be improper in a French child; but that the Engliſh children are the moſt obſtinate, ſelf-willed creatures in the world; in a word, that this attitude had been taken from nature itſelf.

At a public exhibition I ſaw a large picture by the ſame hand, which repreſented a lady ſacrificing to the Graces. This produced a grand effect, as well as the picture of the marquis of Granby on horſeback, drawn likewiſe at full length.

"M. Rouquet, in general obſerves, the Engliſh painters are naturally colouriſts; their manner is large, ſimple, and bordering on the grand. They treat the portraits of women with a delicacy and neatneſs extremely agreeable."

I was ſtruck with this manner in a portrait at half length, which was thrown into a corner of the ſaloon in an old frame. If I had had a fancy to have my picture drawn, perhaps I ſhould have choſen the artiſt who drew this portrait.

LANDSCAPE PAINTING.

A multitude of pictures of this ſort, expoſed to public view in the exhibition-room at London, ſeemed to confirm the judgment of M. Rouquet concerning the Engliſh landſcape painters. "Few maſters, ſays he, in this way ſurpaſs the Engliſh landſcape painters; they are at preſent in the higheſt eſteem."

Theſe landſcapes have all the glow of nature; but I thought I could perceive in certain parts of thoſe which made the beſt appearance a dryneſs which is not to be found in nature.

FOREIGN PICTURES.

England wants none of the neceſſary means to form a ſchool of painting, uniting all the different taſtes. The Engliſh are, as it were, naturalized at Rome, and in all thoſe parts of Italy which poſſeſs the nobleſt models: a taſte for pictures makes an article of their luxury: they ſacrifice to this taſte in proportion to their fortune. Often duped by this paſſion, and by the cant of Italian and national pretenders to connoiſſeurſhip, they run about in queſt of paintings, and keep them as the French nobility and people of fortune at Paris do girls, more thro' variety than inclination or neceſſity. But amongſt a multitude of good copies, many of which were ſold for originals, the Engliſh are poſſeſſed of ſome genuine originals, which might make the foundation of an excellent ſchool.

All the deſcriptions of England ſpeak with rapture of the famous Cartoons of Raphael, and of many pieces of the greateſt maſters ſcattered up and down in the royal palaces, melancholy remains of the collections of queen Elizabeth, or of the firſt Stuarts, and ſince diſſipated by Cromwell. Several private houſes are, in this reſpect, upon a footing with the royal palaces.

The earl of Cheſterfield has a gallery of paintings, the number, variety, choice, and value of which are ſuch as might be expected from the opulence and taſte of the owner. The chief piece in this gallery is an Aſſumption by Rubens, treated in the grandeſt taſte with all the energy, harmony, and truth, which characteriſe the moſt valuable performances of that great maſter. As he has excelled in this piece, he has

has fallen equally below himself in the roof of the Banquetting-room at Whitehall. The composition of this vast roof, distributed into corresponding rolls of different magnitudes, is remarkable for nothing but the heavineſs of the deſign in general, and for the uncoothneſs of the figures: we diſcover Rubens only in ſome particular parts.

Amongſt the pictures in the earl of Cheſterfield's collection, we farther diſtinguiſh: 1. A portrait of the famous Lawrence of Medici, by Raphael. 2. A market-place in Bologna, by Hannibal Caraccio, or one of his ſchool: the market, the ſellers, the buyers, the buffoons, the ſharpers, who fill this public ſquare, are according to nature, without ſinking into that meanneſs which moſt of the Flemiſh maſters have not been able to avoid, but rather ſeem to have aimed at, and in imitation of them Mr. Hogarth. Few maſters have been able to catch nature and repreſent it in a faithful mirrour, without either enobling or degrading it: this is the 'difficilè eſt propriè communia dicere' of Horace. 3. A picture of Paul Veroneſe, about three feet long, which repreſents the effects of a night ſtorm in Verona, with thunder falling upon different quarters of that city, and a fire whoſe flames mix with the heavenly corruſcations. This was painted after nature by Paul Veroneſe, who at the time of this ſtorm happened to be in a part of the Alps which commands Verona. Having no canvaſs ready at the critical moment, he made uſe of a picture he had juſt finiſhed, and in which he had repreſented Adam and Eve converſing on their great felicity in Paradiſe. There remains no part of their figures

but their two heads: the reſt is covered by the repreſentation of the ſtorm, and Verona in flames: it fills a ſort of a roll which appears unfolded.

I ſaw another collection no leſs valuable, at lord Burlington's houſe, at Chiſwick, which, at preſent belongs to the duke of Devonſhire. The apartments are laid out and furniſhed after the Italian manner, adorned with ancient and modern buſts, with tables and chimney-pieces of marble, for the moſt part antique and exceeding curious; and with ſeveral pictures by the moſt celebrated maſters.

Among theſe are diſtinguiſhed a holy family by Andrea del Sarto; ſeveral pieces by Charles Maratti; the portraits of Guido and his wife, painted in the ſame piece by the hand of that maſter; the portrait of Mary queen of Scots in her youth, beautiful as Venus when ſhe roſe from the ſea, &c. But all eyes are engaged by an old Beliſarius aſking charity, by Vandyke. This is one of thoſe maſter-pieces of art which ſpeak at once to the eye, the underſtanding, and the ſoul; one of thoſe performances in which, ſays Pliny, 'plus exprimitur quàm pin-'gitur.' An old ſoldier, a peaſant, a wowan, and a young girl, give an alms to Beliſarius with a readineſs and ſenſibility expreſſed in ſkilful gradations, which exhibit the ſtrongeſt and moſt affecting repreſentation of the various ſentiments of thoſe people concerning a man, who had been the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful general of the age; who had been a ſcourge to the barbarians, and a father to his country; who, in the condition to which fate has reduced him, appears ſtill to retain ſomething of that air and appearance which diſcover the hero. All that

M. le Beau has collected in his Hiſtory of the Lower Empire concerning the exploits and virtues of Beliſarius, is called into action in this picture, with an art which gives reaſon to regret that Vandyke has contented himſelf with the honour of being the king of portrait painters.

SCULPTURE.

Weſtminſter Abbey contains all that London and even England are poſſeſſed of, moſt perfect in this way: the moſt ſtriking pieces go by the names of Scheemaker, Ryſbrack, and Roubilliac. Meſſieurs Moore and Wilton are now employed on thoſe pieces which are to complete this fine collection. But all are not of the ſame beauty.

Sir Iſaac Nowton's monument, in other reſpects extremely well executed, has over it a celeſtial globe of an extraordinary magnitude, which threatens the more to cruſh the philoſopher, as it is loaded with a female figure, heavily ſeated.

Lord Stanhope's monument, near that of Newton, is equally theatened by a globe with another figure of the ſame ſort.

That of captain Cornwall, which ſtands by the great door, is the firſt that catches the eye. The pomp and magnificence diſplayed around it ſeem rather to ſuit a funeral decoration, than a ſtanding monument. Behind this huge machine is placed a ſtatue of Mr. Craggs. This figure, with thoſe of Shakeſpeare, Buſby, Congreve, the celebrated Handel, are the moſt ſtriking pieces in this collection, which is not to be matched in Europe.

It were to be wiſhed, that in order to make it complete, thoſe pieces which have no merit either in the execution or the * ſubject, might be detached from the collection, and their places ſupplied by ſuch as have merit in both; in a word that taſte

'Inutiles ramos amputans
'Feliciores inſerat.

The beſt finiſhed pieces of ſculpture are expected to come from the hands of Meſſieurs Wilton and Moor. I have already ſpoken of Mr. Wilton's model for general Wolf's monument. I have ſeen at Mr. Moore's a piece of ſculpture as remarkable on account of its high finiſhing, as the oddneſs of the idea upon which it was executed. It was a chimney-piece of white mar-

* This might be the more eaſily effected, as moſt of theſe monuments are nothing more than cenotaphs. The choice of Weſtminſter-abbey, as a place to erect them, was determined by the epitaphs which filled that church, in which the monks, to whom it formerly belonged, arrogated to themſelves the excluſive right of burying all the dead of Weſtminſter and part of London: a right ſtill claimed in France by the monks of St. Benignus of Dijon, thoſe of Michael de Tonnere, &c. a right, whoſe origin in favour of theſe abbeys ſituated without towns, doubtleſs, goes as far back as the time, when 'firmiſſimum hoc privilegium retinebant Galliæ civitates, ut intra ambitum civitatum cujuſlibet defuncti corpus nullo modo humaretur. Firſt council of Bragne.' "When the cities of Gaul attained this important privilege, "that the body of no deceaſed perſon ſhould, upon "any account, be buried within the precincts of the "cities."

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ble for a country-houſe belonging to Mr. Beckford, then lord mayor of London. All the moſt remarkable deaths in the Iliad were repreſented in correſponding groupes, the figures protuberant and almoſt ſtarting from the marble; and theſe groupes were intermixed with figures in baſſo relievo repreſenting the deaths of leſs conſequence. Ajax laying violent hands upon himſelf; Priam ſtabbed by Pyrrhus at the foot of an altar; Hector, dragged by Achilles round the walls of Troy; Rheſus aſſaſſinated by Ulyſſes and Diomede, made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the firſt claſs. Near 300 l. had been paid beforehand for this chimney-piece *.

In Windſor chapel, and ſome particular churches in London, the wainſcoting is adorned with a remarkable ſpecies of ſculpture: I mean groups of wreaths very prominent, of a yellowiſh ſort of wood, which I was told was that of Acacia, and ſo minutely carved, that upon touching the wainſcot, they all appear in motion. Thoſe at Windſor were done by a man who worked in that way twenty years: a performance as gothic as that of an iron gate which I have ſeen in ſome other place, the finiſhing of which was a huge plume, executed with as

* I was told by a relation of M. Girardon, of a fact which he had heard from himſelf in the laſt year of his life; a fact which furniſhes another proof of the paſſion of the Engliſh for the arts, and of their munificence to artiſts. Lord Stanhope, after having long admired the monument of cardinal Richelieu at the Sorbonne, went to the houſe of M. Girardon, embraced him with rapture, mentioning the high pleaſure he had received from a view of that monument, and threw down upon the table a hundred guineas which he forced him to accept of.

much neatneſs and elegance as it was poſſible for a ſmith; and ſtill the eye perceived nothing but iron, that is, a thing in the world the leaſt calculated to repreſent feathers.

The Engliſh have a new ſpecies of ſculpture, thoſe ivory medals, repreſenting the heads of their great men. They are glazed, and then arranged upon a ground of black velvet to adorn their cabinets. Theſe medals, which are of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, and in the beſt taſte, ſeem to have all the flexibility and ſoftneſs of wax.

The public monuments in honour of ſovereigns do but little honour to Engliſh ſculpture. Some have attempted to perſuade me, that the horſe which bears the ſtatue of Charles I. at Charing-croſs is by the ſame hand with that at the Place Royal at Paris. If this be true, never did ſons of the ſame father bear leſs reſemblance to each other. The ſtatues of the laſt kings, which adorn the ſquares in the new quarters of the town, being caſt in yellow copper, have nothing remarkable in them but their luſtre: they are doubtleſs, kept in repair, cleaned and rubbed with as much care, as the larger knockers at gentlemen's doors, which are of the ſame ſort of metal.

With regard to pedeſtrian ſtatues, I have already ſpoken of thoſe at the royal Exchange. Thoſe of Charles II. in the middle of the Change, and at Chelſea, are the fineſt pieces of this ſort in and about London.

The middle of the area before St. Paul's, is adorned with a marble ſtatue of queen Anne, by whom that great edifice was finiſhed: ſhe is repreſented

repreſented in a hoop petticoat *: a dreſs which appears prepoſterous, doubtleſs, becauſe it is ſeldom to be ſeen in monuments: a dreſs, notwithſtanding, more ſuitable and leſs ridiculous than the cuiraſs, the buſkins, the nudity of the legs, and the whole heroic apparatus under which our ſculptors are pleaſed to repreſent the kings of our Northern countries.

The execution of monuments conſecrated by each ſovereign to the memory of his predeceſſor, might be a natural object to encourage Engliſh ſculptors; but that kingdom, like the other powerful ſtates of Europe, appears determined by choice to ſacrifice that laſting grandeur to the tranſient magnificence of thoſe pompous ſolemnities, which amuſe the populace only a ſingle morning, whilſt a ſmall part of the immenſe expences attending them, would be ſufficient to erect the moſt durable monuments.

Thoſe durable monuments were of all countries and all ages: their perfection indicates the flouriſhing ſtate of arts, empires, ſovereigns, and individuals, who reckoned them amongſt the chief articles of luxury.

Such monuments being conſidered, during the firſt fervor of Chriſtianity, as little ſuited to the humility inculcated by that religion, they confined themſelves to a few inſcriptions, hardly legible, which were ſometimes accompanied by the figure of a dove, or a palm-branch. The catacombs of Rome, the Capitol, and the porch of St. Agnes's church, contain numerous monuments of this ſort. The 10th and 11th cen-

* There is a fine ſtatue of St. Catharine at Paris, at the corner of the ſtreet of St. Aubin-Boucher, by Renaudin, who has repreſented that ſaint in the ſame manner.

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turies ſaw them revived with as much elegance as could be expected at the dawn of the polite arts. The reſtoration of learning brought this elegance to perfection, and made it ſpread: thoſe monuments became the objects of luxury, and refined taſte, as they had been in ancient ages.

How comes it that this article of luxury has been laid aſide by ſovereigns near the ſpace of a century? Let us not attribute this neglect either to a return of barbariſm, or to a ſervile attachment to evangelical counſels. Can princes have ſo little eſteem for themſelves, or be ſo much in love with the preſent age, as to deſire, by the ſuppreſſion of theſe monuments, to ſcreen their exiſtence from the knowledge of poſterity?

ENGRAVING ON STEEL.

Cromwell's coins are the beſt things that England has produced in this way. Amongſt ſeveral of theſe which I have had an opportunity of ſeeing, I took notice of one ſomewhat larger than the French three-livre pieces: it bears date 1658. Cromwell there aſſumes no other title but that of Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The arms on the reverſe are taken in part from Scotland, England and Ireland; and there is no mark of the pretenſions of England to France, except on the crown, the flouriſhes of which conſiſt partly of croſſes and partly of flower-de-luces.

The Engliſh aſcribe the honour of inventing this coin to the celebrated Warin *. The head

* John Warin, a native of Liege, was director of the French mint under Lewis XIII. and XIV. His medals are in high eſteem. T.

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of Cromwell crowned with laurel, is very beautifully done, with a ſtrong expreſſion of features, and ſtriking reſemblance; it is all over pricked, and ſo is the drapery which covers the tops of the ſhoulders, but in a ſtronger manner than the head.

If Warin cauſed the puncheons of this coin to be made at Paris, he perhaps affected this manner to diſguiſe his touch, which has not loſt, but ſeems rather to have gained by this extraordinary circumſtance.

The mint is fixed at the Tower of London, and men are there more buſied with the emolument than the beauty of the coin. As coins are never caſt a ſecond time, all the money that has come from the mint ſince the reign of Charles II. incluſively, paſſes current equally with the ſpecie of the preſent reign *.

Engravers are paid without any regard to the excellence of their performances; and as they are, to uſe the language of workmen, afraid of ſpoiling the trade, the coins are conſtantly declining from that perfection to which they were carried by Cromwell. That extraordinary man was deſirous that his image ſhould appear in an advantageous light to poſterity, whoſe attention it could not but engage. Thus in antiques the coins or medals of the heroes and of the other tyrants of Sicily, ſtrike the eye with the moſt perfect workmanſhip.

The Engliſh have the ſame opinion of the coinage of France, that foreigners have of

† Shillings of the ſize of the French pieces of 24 ſols, reduced by the wear to two thirds of their value, and having no longer the appearance either of head or reverſe, preſerve ſtill in commerce their relative value to a crown piece.

theirs.

theirs *. From a compariſon of the coins ſtruck by Warin to thoſe now current, they infer a proportionable decline of the arts in France.

The Engliſh coiners weigh by Troy-weight, which is likewiſe made uſe of to weigh pearls, precious ſtones, grains and drugs. They divide it into twelve ounces, the ounce into twenty pennyweights, the pennyweight into four and twenty grains, the grain into twenty mites, the mite into four and twenty droits, the droit into twenty perits, and the perit into four and twenty blancks.

Du Cange informs us that the marck of Troyes, 'Maca Trecenſis,' was become the common weight of Germany, England, Spain, Flanders and all the trading nations that frequented the fairs of Champagne eſtabliſhed at Troyes; fairs, which for three centuries were the centre of the trade of all Europe.

The Engliſh, whilſt they retain this marck for the commodities above ſpecified, and continue to diſtinguiſh it by its original name, have another which they call averdupoiſe weight: it is of ſixteen ounces, and they make uſe of it to weigh commodities of the heavieſt ſort and grocery wares. However, as the ounce of this laſt ſort of weight is by near one twelfth leſs than the ounce Troy weight, there reſults from thence a difference of ſeventy-three to eighty, inſomuch that eighty pounds of averdupoiſe give

* Its decline is the leſs to be wondered at, as it is made at the expence of the ſtate, which returns weight for weight to individuals, without retaining any part either for the king's dues, or the expence of coinage: money whether well or ill-coined is equal to theſe people.

ſeventy

ſeventy-three pounds Troy weight: and fourteen ounces $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{10}$ give ſixteen ounces of averdupoiſe weight.

The parliament has made ſeveral efforts to remove the perplexity which reſults from this variation, firſt by aſcertaining the relation of the two pounds to each other; and at laſt by endeavouring to eſtabliſh one uniform weight throughout the kingdom: the collections of acts of parliament are filled with propoſals, debates, and reſolutions relative to theſe objects, which are pointed out in the index under the word 'weight'.

During my reſidence in London, a bill was at laſt prepared to eſtabliſh one weight only of ſixteen ounces, and I made application underhand to thoſe of the committee who prepared it, to prevail upon them to throw into the preamble of the bill a few words of acknowledgment to the pound Troy weight, which had ſo long been of ſervice to them.

If in a nation ſo uſed to calculation, ſo ſuperior to prejudices, and ſo much indulged by the miniſtry, a reduction of this ſort is retarded by ſo many obſtructions, ſhould we be ſurprized if the ſame operation, of which Lewis XI. had formed a plan for France, has not yet been carried into execution?

PRINTING.

Under this article ſome conſider only the public papers, which every day overflow the metropolis, and from thence are circulated all over the Britiſh dominions. Now nothing could be more likely to give a diſadvantageous idea of the ſtate of printing in England than theſe papers. They

They are of the the coarſeſt paper, and of an enormous ſize, printed like placarts or proclamations, with types of the moſt ordinary ſort. Theſe papers being thrown about upon the tables in coffee houſes, amongſt all ſorts of traſh, appeared to me like thoſe dirty rags with which the poor beggars ſwaddle their children. Theſe news-papers are regularly filed, kept from year to year, and are refered to in public and in private, like the records of law in Weſtminſter-hall; though their naſtineſs might be ſufficient to diſcourage the uſe of them, were the Engliſh leſs paſſionate for news, and leſs infatuated with politics and invectives againſt their miniſters.

The editions of the Foulis of Glaſgow are the beſt calculated of any books in Britain to give foreigners an advantageous idea of the typography of that kingdom. I have ſeen in London the firſt ſheets of a Greek and Latin edition of Plato, undertaken by thoſe bookſellers, which had been ſuſpended theſe ten years by reſearches in all the libraries of Europe, with a view to reſtore the Greek text to its original purity. The Greek type of theſe editions, which is without abbreviatures, does not appear to the eye ſo agreeable and eaſy as that of Stephens, Turnebus, Morel, and the Paris ſociety.

It is unneceſſary to obſerve that all books printed in England are extravagantly dear. The high price of labour, far from diminiſhing the avidity of bookſellers, is a new incitement to it.

GOLDSMITHS WARE.

The Britiſh dominions are furniſhed with plate by the goldſmiths of London. Nothing can equal the ſplendor of theſe ſhops: the goods are diſplayed in great order in glaſs caſes. The

eye

eye is the more ſtruck with theſe, as the Engliſh have, with reſpect to common plate, adopted the French taſte with regard to that belonging to the church: for plate in England is leſs for real uſe than parade, porcelaine being all the faſhion. This cuſtom is of long ſtanding: in the reign of Charles II. ſecretaries of ſtate themſelves had no plate. The taſte for cleanlineſs has preſerved the uſe of ſteel forks with two prongs, being much eaſier to clean than ours: they are changed at every courſe. With regard to little bits of meat which they cannot ſo well take hold of with the two pronged forks, recourſe is had to the knife, which is broad and round at the extremity.

In this reſpect the difference is not very great between the firſt houſes in London and thoſe of opulent citizens. In one of the former, the parlour was adorned with a great ſilver fountain about three feet high; the water fell into an oval baſon, four feet wide, which lay upon the floor. The workmanſhip of this fountain and its baſon was in the taſte of our church-plate, in mirrors, bars and ſhining facets.

WORKS IN STEEL.

The French Refugees have introduced this manufacture into England, where the cutlery had nothing to recommend it but the fineneſs of its temper. Amongſt many other works of this ſort, I have ſeen a pair of ſciſſars, the branches of which were adorned with plates in filigrain, mounted with brilliants: a piece as extraordinary on account of the patience and execution of the artiſt, as for its total deficiency in point of taſte. Theſe ſciſſars coſt fifteen guineas.

EARTHEN WARE.

The manufactures of this ſort lately ſet on foot in the neighbourhood of London have not been able to ſtand their ground. That at Chelſea, the moſt important of all, was juſt fallen as I arrived at that capital. A nobleman belonging to the court of France undertook a voyage to England, in order to impart to that nation the knowledge he had acquired in this branch by repeated experiments: I do not know whether the Engliſh thought proper to make uſe of it. I have been informed that the county of Cornwall ſupplied them with the ſort of earth fit to make porcelain.

ARCHITECTURE.

The ſame taſte that gave riſe to the deſign of the ſciſſars, of which I have juſt ſpoken, ſeems likewiſe to have preſided over the building of the chapel of Henry VII. joining to Weſtminſter-Abbey. All the parts, whether principal or ſubordinate, whether conſpicuous for art and workmanſhip, or otherwiſe, are a ſort of continued filigrain: this ſtructure reſembles that goddeſs, whom an unſkilful artiſt repreſented in the moſt gorgeous apparel, becauſe he could not give her an elegant form.

The church, to which this chapel joins, was built in the thirteenth century. In the immenſe height of its roof, and the narrowneſs of its iſle, and ſides, it bears a ſtrong reſemblance to the church of the Abbey of St. Owen, at Rouen, and appears to have been built by the ſame architect.

The

The old cathedral of St. Paul's was a fine monument in the Gothic taſte: it was begun in the twelfth century by Maurice biſhop of London, at the very time in which Maurice de Sully laid the foundation of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris. St. Paul's church had, like Notre-Dame, a gallery along ſide the iſle, the croſs, and the choir. There was one very remarkable difference between the two cathedrals, namely, that the choir of St. Paul's being raiſed a fathom above the floor of the iſle, and divided into three different choirs, to each of which there was a ſort of ſanctuary, exceeded by four fathom the length of the iſle, which was of 330 feet. The entire length of the edifice thus diſtributed, exceeded by three fathom that of St. Peter's at Rome.

Such is the diſtribution of the cathedral at Canterbury *, which ſtill ſubſiſts in its original ſtate. Now this odd conſtruction ſeems to be owing to the ſingular ſituation, in which the church of England happened to be at the time, when theſe edifices were erected.

St. Gregory having a deſire to eſtabliſh the Papal authority over the church of England, which till then had been independent, ſent a number of Romiſh monks over that iſland; and the principal of theſe being appointed archbiſhop of Canterbury, laboured as much for the intereſt of his employer, as for his own emolument.

Succeeding popes continued what St. Gregory had begun. New miſſionaries ſucceeded the old ones in England, where they at firſt ſubſiſted entirely upon the charity of the ſecular cler-

* The third choir is built without ſide of, and on the ſame level with the firſt.

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gy: under pretext of eaſing that body, they ſhared thier functions. Upon this pretence, whole ſwarms of monks, patronized by the Landfrancs, the Anſelms, the Dunſtans, and by moſt of the Engliſh prelates, who were taken out of cloiſters, attached themſelves to cathedrals, where they formed the lower choir.

The 11th century beheld upon the chair of St. Peter, a ſucceſſion of Monkiſh popes, who retained the deſpotic principles eſtabliſhed in cloiſters: theſe principles regulated the whole conduct of the famous Gregory VII.

In order to ſucceed in eſtabliſhing their authority over Europe, the popes had occaſion for aſſiſtants, whoſe implicit obedience ſhould raiſe no obſtacles to their views, nor reſiſtance to their orders; aſſiſtants, whoſe private advantage ſhould be connected with the intereſt of thoſe who ſet them in action. The cloiſter offered them what they wanted: by the aid of their antient brethren, they attempted to make the whole body of the church of Rome a monkiſh community with the pope for its abbot, whilſt temporal ſovereigns were to be mere executors of its orders.

The ſecular clergy were animated by principles which counteracted theſe ambitious views: principles founded upon the deciſions of councils; a title reſpected and ſupported by all the preceding pontifs.

To ſurmount this obſtacle, ſome of the predeceſſors of Gregory VII. began, and that pope completed, the buſineſs of cruſhing the ſecular clergy, either as having committed ſimony by continuing to acknowledge the authority of ſecular princes in the diſtribution of benefices; or as guilty of concubinage, becauſe the clergy

of

of the Latin church, after the example of thoſe of the Greek communion, thought proper to marry *. The excommunications thundered out on all ſides againſt this indocible clergy, produced the deſired effect: they brought them into † diſrepute with the people, whom the natural love of perfection always hurries beyond the mark. The monks availed themſelves of this diſpoſition to ſecure their firſt eſtabliſhments, and to form new ones. England ſoon had no other proprietors of land but them and the king; and the monks of other countries, for that reaſon, gave it the appellation of the Iſland of Saints.

To all the titles admitted by antient laws for acquiring property, they had joined one remarkably lucrative, which had its firſt riſe in Italy, from whence it paſſed over to France. This ti-

* In Muratori's Collections, we meet with ſome particulars of this kind, which no eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian has entered into. The Mabillons, the Ruinarts, the Dacheries, have taken the precaution to ſuppreſs ſuch papers as might tend to eſtabliſh the ſame facts with regard to France. As to England, ſee Camden's Britannia, Anno 1103, and the Details concerning Sylveſter Giraldus, publiſhed by Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 374.

† They brought themſelves into diſrepute by the ignorance which they gave themſelves up to: 'Clerici litteraturâ tumultuariâ contenti, vix ſacramentorum verba balbutiebant: ſtupore & miraculo erat cæteris qui grammatinam noſſet.' Will. Malmſb. lib. iii. 'The clergy were ſatisfied with the learning "which they had picked up in a hurry, they could "ſcarce jabber out the words of the ſacraments: he "who had learned his grammar, was looked upon "as a wonder by the reſt."

tle,

tle, which went by the name of 'precarious,' was founded upon the feudal law. I have ſpoken, at the article of Rents for Life, of its cauſes and effects. The abuſe made of this by the Engliſh monks, excited on the part of the nation a formal remonſtrance, and king John gave his ſubjects the redreſs which they required of him in Magna Charta *.

The precarious contract was founded in the uncertainty of poſſeſſions, in the midſt of continual wars and invaſions, and under the tyranny of uſurpers, ſcattered in the different ſtates of Europe.

The ſame uncertainty of poſſeſſion, has, under the Turkiſh deſpotiſm, made the grand ſignor's ſubjects have recourſe to the ſame expedient, in order to ſecure to themſelves and their children the property of their eſtates. The

* 'Non liceat,' ſays the laſt article but two of Magna Charta, 'non liceat de cætero, alicui dare 'terram ſuam domui religionis, ita quòd illam reſu-'mat tenendam de eâdem domo: nec liceat alicui 'domui religionis ſic accipere quòd tradat eam illi à 'quo illum accepit tenendam. Si autem aliquis, de 'cætero, terram ſuam ſic dederit tenendam alicui do-'mui religionis, & ſuper hoc convincatur, penitus 'caſſetur & terra illa domino illius fundi reintegretur.'
"It ſhall not be lawful for any perſon to make over "his land to a religious houſe, in ſuch a manner as "to take it again, and hold it of the ſame houſe: "nor ſhall any religious houſe ſo receive an eſtate, "as to deliver it up to him of whom it ſo received it "to hold of him. But if a perſon ſhould ſo give his "eſtate, to be held by a religious houſe, and this ſhall "be made appear, the contract ſhall be null and "void, and that land ſhall be again put into poſſeſſi-"on of its firſt owner."

owner

owner makes a donation of it to ſome moſque, upon condition that he ſhall enjoy it during his life-time; that any of his ſons, whom he appoints ſhall enjoy it afterwards; and that at the death of this ſecond incumbent it ſhall be entirely converted to the uſe of the moſque. The imans and the derviſes are as earneſt for ſuch donations, as our religious orders; donations which will gradually inveſt them with the poſſeſſion of all the eſtates of private perſons, as they had thrown moſt of the landed property into the hands of our monks.

In the midſt of the revolution effected by Gregory VII. which transferred all wealth and honour to the regular clergy, the monks who had attached themſelves to the cathedrals, and who, till then, had been contented with the meaneſt offices and the loweſt places in the choir, ſeized upon the higheſt, uſurped the right of election, and placed themſelves upon the epiſcopal throne. To attain this end, it was neceſſary for them to proceed to conteſts and frays, of which hiſtorians give circumſtantial narratives, and which were often attended with bloodſhed. King Henry II. was for reſtoring order; but finding himſelf enſlaved by the unhappy conſequences of his diſputes with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the monks regained, under him and his ſucceſſors, the ground which they had loſt.

They appointed Richard, prior of Dover, ſucceſſor to Thomas Becket in the ſee of Canterbury; and after his deceaſe they ſubſtituted Baldwin, ancient abbot of Ford in Devonſhire.

The latter having more of the epiſcopal character in his compoſition, than of the qualities of a monk, endeavoured to reſtore the ſecular

chapter

chapter of Canterbury to its former rights, as well with regard to the poſſeſſion of the choir, as with reſpect to the election of archbiſhops *; and the monks perſiſting to ſtand their ground, he raiſed altar againſt altar †.

The monks raiſed a terrible outcry againſt an enterprize, which appeared to be levelled at their dignity, and made their complaint to the court of Rome ‡. By the connection of their intereſts they were ſure of the favour of the pope, who ſupported them with all the weight of his authority, 'per furtiva mandata.' The archbiſhop oppoſed the papal authority by that of his ſovereign: in the conflict of the two powers, this contention degenerated into a ſort of war, 'non ſine ſanguine §.' The archbiſhop having afterwards followed the king in his expedition to the Holy Land, by quitting the game, loſt it. The monks ſaw him depart, 'cum parcioribus 'lamentis plangentes.'

* 'Cantuarienſibus monachis plus juſto infeſatus, 'proprium eligendi pontificem jus et prærogativam ab 'eis transferre voluit.' "Being more an enemy to "the monks of Canterbury than he ſhould have "been, he was for depriving them of the right and "prerogative of electing the biſhop."

† 'Ædem majoris eccleſiæ in quâ monachi mini-'ſtrant, quaſi æmulam fabricare adorſus eſt.' "He "attempted, as it were to build a church, to rival "that in which the monks officiated."

‡ 'In ſuum dignitatis præjudicium hoc fieri non 'ſuſtinentes.' "Not bearing that this ſhould be "done to the prejudice of their dignity."

§ 'Denique tam fœda contentio inter paſtorum et 'oves, per annos aliquot, cum multo ſcandalo, trac-'ta eſt, dum neutra pars cedendum putat, & utra-'que palmam alteri dare ignominioſiſſimum judicat.'

We

We are indebted for the particular account of this conteſt to William of Newbury *, who, though himſelf of the monaſtic order, does juſtice to the probity, the prudence, and the piety of archbiſhop Baldwin, whoſe oppoſition to his monks he conſiders only as the effect of an indiſcreet zeal. 'Fervor paulò indiſcretior.'

This prelate happening to die in Paleſtine, the monks, in condeſcenſion to the king's recommendation gave them Hubert biſhop of Saliſbury for his ſucceſſor; but they would not inſtal their new archbiſhop, except upon condition of his aſſuming the habit: a condition which the prelate complied with, by repairing to the monaſtery of Meſtiri in Cotentin, where he made his religious vows. His behaviour to the monks of Canterbury anſwered to this firſt ſtep: 'illis 'moleſtus non fuit †.

In the chapter ſubſequent to theſe accounts, William of Newbury relates an enterpriſe of Hugh biſhop of Cheſter againſt the monks of Coventry ‡; an enterpriſe either more fortunate or better conducted than that of archbiſhop Baldwin, as the biſhop was ſucceſsful. The title of this chapter is contained in the ſummary to be

* 'De rebus Anglicis,' l. iv. cap. 36.

† A continual war, in which the monks were alternately victors and vanquiſhed, had left them maſters of the field of battle. Henry VIII. drove them from their monaſtery to ſubſtitute in their room a dean, an archdeacon, twelve canons, and ſix preachers.

'Quomodo Hugo, Ceſtrenſis epiſcopus, de-'ſtruxit monaſterium Conventrenſe.' "How Hu-"go, biſhop of Cheſter, deſtroyed the monaſtery at "Coventry."

ſeen at the head of the edition of William of Newbury, publiſhed at Paris in 1610, by father Picart; but the editor more zealous than the author for his fraternity, thought proper to retrench this chapter from the text, and his edition is the only one which I have had an opportunity of conſulting. In theſe conteſts the biſhops were favoured by the common rights and cuſtoms of the church; but the popes, who derived a mutual ſupport from the monks, did all they could for thoſe whom they had taken under their patronage; in the 13th century this order of men went ſo far as to diſpute with the ſuffragans of Canterbury the right of voting in the election of archbiſhops. This pretenſion which had been totally ſubverſive of the hierarchy, was notwithſtanding ratified by a ſolemn judgment of the ſee of Rome *.

People of this enterpriſing temper ſometimes met with reſiſtance from the inferior ſecular clergy, who wrote againſt them when it was not in their power to oppoſe their pretenſions by overt acts. In the twelfth century Sylveſter Geraldus, profeſſor of divinity, an enterpriſing man, and very learned for that age, proved a bitter enemy to them. Amongſt the MSS. of the Cotton library there is a work drawn up by him 'ex profeſſo' againſt the monks, concerning whom he was wont to ſay both in his public lectures and in private converſations, 'a malitiâ monachorum libera nos, Domine.' The title of this work is 'Speculum Eccleſiæ:' we meet with a fragment of it in 'Anglia ſacra,' con-

* See in Matthew Paris, at the year 1206, the account of this conteſt, and the ſtrange deciſion that terminated it.

taining

taining ſome particulars of the life of a biſhop of Coventry. It is indeed ſomewhat aſtoniſhing, that when the religious orders were baniſhed out of England, none of the chief actors at that memorable revolution, ever thought, in the heat of religious diſputes, to publiſh a work ſo well adapted to the occaſion. The library of the archbiſhops of Canterbury at Lambeth is poſſeſſed of another manuſcript of the ſame author, dictated by the ſame ſpirit as the 'Speculum Eccleſiæ.' The title of this laſt is 'Gemma Eccleſiaſtica.'

This war between the monks and the ſuperior clergy has likewiſe ſubſiſted in France for upwards of three centuries. What the clergy of the church of England carried by one total and deciſive victory, for which they groan at preſent, the Gallican church gains inſenſibly and by degrees. 1. By the commendams, by means of which the popes, who are paid amply and before hand, ſell them the greateſt part of the monaſtic revenues; the monks confining themſelves to remonſtrances, drawn up in a clandeſtine manner, againſt the violence which they ſuppoſe done to their monaſteries by every new commendam. 2. By re-unions. We ſee with ſurpriſe in the hiſtory of the dioceſe of Paris by abbé le Beuf, how many fat priories and good abbeys have been ſwallowed up by the archbiſhop of that capital. The abbey of S. Maur des foſſés, one of the moſt ancient, moſt illuſtrious and beſt endowed of the kingdom, firſt held in commendam by two biſhops, reunited afterwards to the biſhopric, has in the courſe of two centuries, ſeen its monks metamorphoſed into canons, and thoſe canons united to the chapter of St. Thomas at the Louvre; in fine its regu-

lar buildings, its ſacred edifices overturned, and demoliſhed: 'ſacrarum ut humanarum rerum 'heu! viciſſitudo eſt!'

The good people who founded or endowed theſe houſes with a pious munificence, intended to have their bodies buried in the churches, and prayers to be conſtantly offered up for their departed ſouls: but they have been dug up out of their tombs, the wind has diſſipated their aſhes; and inſtead of the prayers which they meant to ſecure, the product of their pious foundations encreaſes the luxury, the equipage, and the ſports of ſome rich nobleman.

The public might at leaſt derive ſome advantage from theſe reunions, if care were taken to ſuppreſs the ſeveral duties ſo burthenſome to the people, and often to the proprietor himſelf, on account of the perplexity and difficulties which attend the collecting them. The chancellor de l'Hoſpital, only able legiſlator that France can boaſt in theſe latter ages, extended his views to theſe objects. In the memorial with which he charged the ambaſſador of France to the council of Trent, he required the re-union of the tythes to each pariſh-church, upon condition, that the people ſhould be exempted from the payment of all church dues *.

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* Letters and Inſtructions, 'Ut à ſacerdotali ordine ſordes omnes & omnis avaritiæ labes procul expellantur, nec ullo prætextu quicquam pro rebus divinis exigatur:' "that all ſordidneſs of diſpoſition, and groveling avarice, may be baniſhed from the ſacred order, and nothing may be upon any pretext whatever, exacted for the performance of divine ſervice: a propoſition, which St. Charles Borromæus cauſed to be inſerted amongſt the decrees

The facts contained in this digreſſion, and which have been omitted by the writers of the general hiſtory of England, ſeem to throw ſome light upon the inſtitution of the three choirs, which the ancient cathedral of London enjoyed, and which that of Canterbury poſſeſſes to this day.

The firſt of theſe choirs was ſet apart as a burying-place for ſovereigns and prelates. At Canterbury, it unites the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter. Amongſt their tombs, the moſt remarkable in many reſpects, is that of the Black Prince, "the moſt brave and gallant general, "the moſt accompliſhed knight, and the hero "of his age." Over this tomb is a canopy, from the centre of which hang the caſque, the hat, the cuiraſs, and the ſword, which that prince wore in his expeditions to France, where his virtuous qualities gained him immortal renown. All the art of the Girardons and the Couſtous, could neither conceive, nor execute, any thing capable of ſpeaking in ſo lively a manner to the imagination, and above all to a French imagination, as theſe ruſty arms and this ſword, ſo fatal to France. Montereau preſerves a monument of this ſort, the ſword of the duke of Burgundy, which hangs from the roof of the principal church.

England is poſſeſſed of many Gothic monuments of the middle ages, ſuch as moſt of the buildings of Oxford, Windſor-chapel, and ſome

"crees of the council," Seſſ. 24. chap. 'Quoniam 'pleræque,' "modifying it by a middle term, and "confining it to 'et quod pro rectoris neceſſitate 'decenter ſufficiat.' "What is a decent competen-"cy for the doctor."

churches and chapels in London. The plan, the elevation, and the ornaments of the latter, are pretty nearly the ſame with thoſe of moſt of the churches of Rouen.

Windſor chapel, and thoſe of the colleges of Oxford, are chiefly remarkable for the boldneſs of their roof, which are very flat, though of a conſiderable height. In erecting theſe edifices as well as that of the cathedral of Bourdeaux, the Engliſh architects ſeem to have taken for their model the great hall at Weſtminſter, built by Edward the Confeſſor.

Windſor chapel contains the body of the unfortunate Charles I. in a vault under the choir. Yet, if we may give credit to a tradition broached by the independents, and, undoubtedly, falſe, that body had been ſecretly removed by the royaliſts from Windſor to Weſtminſter Abbey; and when in purſuance of an act of parliament, Cromwell's carcaſe was dug up out of the grave, dragged about the ſtreets, and hung upon a gibbet, this ignominy fell upon the body of Charles, not upon Cromwell. The proof alledged in ſupport of this, is that when the head was cut off, to be fixed upon a pike before the parliament-houſe, it was only ſewed to the ſhoulders. We are not told whether this miſtake which completely diſgraced the regal dignity, had been owing to a contrivance of Cromwell, or whether it was the laſt effort of the rage and deſpair of the independents upon ſeeing the royal family reſtored.

It is, however, to be obſerved, that the chapels of which I have been ſpeaking, are not terminated like ours in a ſemi-circle. The extremity perpendicularly interſected is intirely taken up with glaſs caſements, which let in an exceſ-

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ſive light, neceſſary, no doubt, under a ſky generally gloomy, but too dazzling in ſun-ſhine.

The Engliſh have a general, rambling taſte for the ſeveral objects of the polite arts, which does not even exclude the Gothic: it ſtill prevails not only in ornaments of fancy, but even in ſome modern buildings. To this taſte they are indebted for the preſervation of the two giants in Guildhall. Theſe giants, in compariſon of which the Jacquemard of St. Paul's at Paris is a bauble, ſeem placed there for no other end but to frighten children: the better to anſwer this purpoſe, care has frequently been taken to renew the daubing on their faces and arms. There might be ſome reaſon for retaining thoſe monſtrous figures, if they were of great antiquity, or if, like the ſtone, which ſerved as the firſt throne to the kings of Scotland, and is carefully preſerved at Weſtminſter, the people looked upon them as the palladium of the nation; but they have nothing to recommend them, and they only raiſe at firſt view a ſurprize in foreigners, who muſt conſider them as a production, in which both Daniſh and Saxon barbariſm are happily combined. Let us now come to the modern monuments in the Gothic taſte.

Kew-gardens, belonging to the princeſs dowager of Wales, have been laid out with a royal magnificence: in the midſt of a grove there is a ſaloon built of wood, in the form of a chapel, every part of which is cut and carved in the very ſame taſte as that which obtained in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Mr. Walpole, more renowned for his taſte for the arts and ſciences, than for a name which will be immortaliſed by the annals of the eighteenth century, has built at Twickenham, in the midſt

of an agreeable ſolitude, a delightful country-ſeat, which appears to the eye like the ſhattered out ſide of the antient priories of the monks of Cluni or Citeaux, during the firſt fervour of devotion. The entrance is by a cloiſter which is low, narrow, obſcure and humid; upon the walls are to be ſeen epitaphs and a variety of funeral monuments brought from Italy. The manner in which the houſe is laid out anſwers to its entry: a refectory, chapter, dormitory, chapel, in ſhort, all are the ſame as in a religious houſe: and from the manner in which it is conſtructed, from the furniture, the glaſſes, the paintings and the ornaments, one would take it to be a monaſtery of the thirteenth century. The library unites all the embelliſhments which architects have endeavoured to give to this kind of building: the roof divided into ogees is loaded with that ſpecies of wreathed ſhells, which the Gothic architecture ſeems to have borrowed from the ſtalactites, ſuſpended in thoſe grottoes that hold ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in natural hiſtory. The books are contained in ſeveral preſſes, the pannels of which, made after the manner of glaſs caſements of churches, are of the moſt precious ſort of wood, and of the fineſt workmanſhip, upon the moſt antique models. The ſeats, the tables, the deſks diſcover the ſame regularity and taſte. The windows are of old painted glaſs. In a word, how expenſive muſt it have been, in a country where labour is ſo very dear, to collect all thoſe pieces, whoſe fantaſtic forms, ſo widely deviating from the modern taſte, required as much delicacy as preciſion!

It ſeems unneceſſary to obſerve that the doors, the windows, all the openings, even the air-holes,

holes, are cut in ogees; a form which, to my great aſtoniſhment, I once heard commended by a certain architect.

According to this gentleman, the full centre excludes all variety in its form, and preſents to the eye nothing more than the mouth of an oven. The ogee, on the contrary, the idea of which ſeems to be borrowed from a feſtoon curtain, is ſuſceptible of all the variety which a fine preſents to a geometrician. In a word he proved that the ogee is agreeable to nature, or he at leaſt endeavoured to prove it by compariſons, carried to a ridiculous extravagance *.

Italian workers in ſtucco having, doubtleſs, imbibed theſe principles, ſeem to have followed them in certain modern ſtructures in France, committed to their direction by the Benedictine communities. I have ſeen a ſaloon of this ſort by theſe artiſts, the roof of which being divided into convex points of ogees, and loaded with a heavy ſculpture, the eye was ſhocked with all the whimſical irregularity of the moſt vitiated Gothic taſte.

England was in no haſte to avail herſelf of the noble models, by which architecture was revived in the ſixteenth century. She perſevered in her attachment to the Gothic manner, and her firſt eſſays were no more than a whimſical mixture of the ancient and modern taſte. The oldeſt part of the palace at Hampton-court, Somerſet-houſe in London, and ſome of the colleges at Oxford, have been built in this manner. In the century following the true taſte of architec-

* Father Friſi has juſt publiſhed at Milan, a little treatiſe upon the ogee, and the full centre, geometrically compared.

ture was introduced into England by Inigo Jones, a genius who had acquired a thorough knowledge of his profeſſion by a long courſe of ſtudy in Italy, and whom the architects of that country themſelves reckon amongſt the maſters, to whom their art is moſt indebted *.

In London there are ſeveral public edifices erected under the direction of this great maſter †. The moſt remarkable is the Banqueting-houſe, part of the plan of a royal palace, which Inigo Jones was to have built at Whitehall for king James I. To form a judgment of the whole ſtructure from this part, it might have come in competition with the Louvre.

The oddeſt of the buildings ſuperintended by this architect is the church in Covent-garden, built in the form of a market-houſe, with a portico at both ends: the portico has no ornaments but the extremity of the joiſts, ſupporting the roof, which juts out in the manner of a pediment; the beams under this pediment form a horizontal roof, ſupported by two columns of the Doric order. This conſtruction as ſimple as well-judged, by reducing the art to its original, unites all the elements of it.

* 'In Italiâ Palladio, e Jones in Inghilterra furono i più ſeveri imitatori degli antichi architetti come nella maeſtà e nella ſolidità della fabriche, così ancora nella ſimplicità e nella ſobrietà degli ornamenti.' P. Friſi, 'nello Saggio, ſoprà l'architettura Gotica,' cited above. "In Italy Palladio, and Jones in England, were the moſt exact imitators of the ancient architects, as well in the majeſty and ſolidity of the buildings, as in the ſimplicity, ſobriety, and frugality of the ornaments." P. Friſi, in his Eſſay upon Architecture.

† Bedford-horſe is one of the moſt remarkable.

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I have ſpoken of the ſtatue of this architect erected by lord Burlington at Chiſwick. The great avenue of the gardens belonging to this houſe is terminated by a portal of the firſt magnitude, which Jones had built for a country-ſeat ten leagues from that village. That houſe having been neglected, lord Burlington purchaſed the portal, which he cauſed to be removed piece-meal, and fixed in its preſent ſituation *, with an inſcription repreſenting this fact as an inſtance of his lordſhip's eſteem for the monuments of Inigo Jones's genius. When we are given to underſtand that it was not made on this ſpot, the inſcription makes an odd contraſt with that of the bridge of Beaune, and appears to leſſen its abſurdity.

Jones was ſucceeded by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, who, beſides his ſkill in his own profeſſion, was poſſeſſed of all the different branches of knowledge, which, according to Virtruvius, ſhould be neceſſarily combined, in order to form the complete architect. St. Paul's church is the work of Sir Chriſtopher, who began it in 1676 and finiſhed it in 1711.

None but thoſe who have in their own country an edifice more conſiderable, and more magnificent than St. Paul's church at London, have

* Thus, in the laſt century, the portal of the abbey of Neſles la Repoſte, belonging to the order of St. Benedict, in the dioceſe of Troyes, was removed piece-meal, and ſet up with all its appurtenances in the little town of Villenoxe This portal, one of the oldeſt in France, had been erected in the reign of Clovis. We there ſee the ſtatue of the celebrated queen Pedauque, with its gooſe's foot. The removal of this portal does honour to the taſte of the Benedictines for ancient monuments.

a right

a right to find fault with it; therefore all nations in Europe, except the Romans, ſhould contemplate it with ſilent admiration.

Thus whilſt the critics of Rome may, perhaps, condemn the diſproportion of its breadth at the entrance with the whole of the edifice, and the extravagant height of the dome which gives it the appearance of a tower, other foreigners will make a few modeſt obſervations: 1. Upon the nakedneſs of this temple compared to Roman Catholic churches. 2. Upon the organ-loft, whoſe ſmoky caſe, with the dirty gilding, and piece of glaſs caſement, make it look like an old cup-board: Weſtminſter Abbey has an ornament of the ſame ſort, which it would be better without.

3. Upon the bulk of the ſtalls in the choir, which they disfigure inſtead of adorning; this enormous ſize is owing to their having contrived there a kind of upper ſtory, where there are cloſets, in which the women ſeat themſelves to chaunt with the canons.

4. Upon the ſtrictneſs with which that church is kept ſhut, except at the hours of ſervice, when a folding door on each ſide ſtands open. This cuſtom of keeping out all external air occaſions a dampneſs, which renders that church very unhealthy: the fogs that fill it during the whole winter, continue ſometimes in that incloſure to the end of the month of May.

The only reaſon for its being ſhut ſo ſtrictly proceeds from a ſordid intereſt *, which is but little

* The ſame motive has occaſioned thoſe vile additions, which conceal the beautiful parts of our ancient cathedrals, by means of ſhops and ſtalls, built with

little ſuited to the magnificence of the place. Except at the hours of ſervice, which are very ſhort, there is no admittance without paying three-pence: a contribution equally levied upon natives and foreigners. The ſame contributions are exacted at all the ſtair-caſes, and at the ſeveral doors which lead to the upper parts of the edifice, where various curioſities have been collected, which ſeem little to deſerve that name, and bear no reſemblance to the things they are made to paſs for. Such is a plan in baſſo relievo ſaid to be that of St. Peter's at Rome, and which is neither that of St. Peter's nor of St. Paul's. We pay for ſeeing each of theſe curioſities, and the money is for the benefit of the lower choir of St. Paul's; as what they collect at Weſtminſter for ſeeing the monuments of the kings, goes to the lower choir of the abbey. This extortion was, doubtleſs, deviſed for want of other reſources.

In the preſent century Engliſh architecture has produced nothing remarkable but the Manſion-houſe, ſome pariſh churches and Weſtminſter bridge. The firſt of theſe ſtructures has leſs the appearance of a houſe, as it preſents in front nothing but a huge pile of the heavieſt ornaments of the Doric order; a pile no way different from

with greater ſolidity than ſuch places ſeem to require. In this reſpect, the famous portal of the cathedral of Straſburgh, is ridiculous to the laſt degree. All its prominent parts are ſurrounded by a number of little ſhops, which ſo encumber the place, that it is hardly poſſible to enter the church. I was given to underſtand, that theſe ſhops ſtill belonged to the Lutheran church; but what right has a religion, which is barely tolerated, thus to diſguiſe the nobleſt monument of that city?

that

that round the vicarage-houſe of St. Euſtachius at Paris, except that the architect has omitted in the latter a pediment proportioned to the bulk of the pillars *. This conſtruction is but little approved of by the Engliſh. I was ſhewn a gentleman, who every year is ſaid to go up to London, from his country ſeat in one of the Northeren counties, with no other view but to have the pleaſure of p—ſſ—g upon this ridiculous edifice.

The ornaments of architecture have not been more laviſhed on the outſide of the new pariſh churches, than they have been ſparingly beſtowed upon their inſide.

The Greek Chriſtians took for the models of their churches the ancient temples which were, generally ſpeaking, built in rotondas; the Latins adopted the form of the Roman baſilicas; ſince the Reformation the Engliſh ſeem, like the modern Jews, to have taken for the models of their ſacred edifices, the barns where they aſſembled during the times of perſecution, or when their religion was barely tolerated. Theſe temples are compoſed uniformly of a nave and two iſles, formed by a lengthening of the roof of the nave. The iſles have galleries, the windows of which let in a falſe and broken light. That theſe temples might exactly reſemble their models, there is nothing wanting but the ridge to be ſeen in moſt barns: they are perpendicularly terminated by a large caſement of glaſs, which diffuſes an exceſſive glare and claſhes diſagreeably with the oblique light of the iſles. Even the church of St. Martin's in the fields, adorned

* 'Triſte pondus et caducum
'In domini caput immerentis.' HORAT.

in

in the laſt reign with a royal magnificence; and St. James's church, which as yet has neither porch nor external ornaments, are built according to this model. 'Tis a pity that the plan of the rotonda which adorns the gardens of Vauxhall, was not made uſe of in ſome of theſe edifices.

Weſtminſter-bridge, which was begun in 1739, and finiſhed in 1752, is the work of a Swiſs architect *. Its length is of 1230 feet divided into 15 arches. The whole work is grand, beautiful, and yet plain. It is a pity that the architect ſhould have been under a neceſſity of giving the parapets an extravagant height. The lowering of theſe parapets would, no doubt, occaſion the ſuppreſſion of the niches erected on each ſide upon the ſpurs of the piles. The cabinet of Monſ. Parcieux, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, is adorned with the plan of this bridge, executed in miniature, with as much elegance as exactneſs, by the very architect who built it: he bequeathed this plan as a legacy to the above gentleman.

The bridge now building between that of Weſtminſter and London-bridge, will improve upon the former for the magnificence of its ornaments. Each of the ſpurs of the piles will form, at high water, an angular ſocle to hold two conjunct pillars, upon which there is to be an elegant cornice extending the whole length of the bridge, like that of Pontneuf at Paris.

* M. Groſley calls him a Fleming; but the tranſlator was intimately acquainted with that architect, the ingenious Mr. Labely; and knows him to have been a native of Swiſſerland. T.

The

The foundations of the piles are made by caiſſons ranged along the banks of the river, and which are afterwards placed upon the pilings deſtined to receive them. The difficulty is to drive theſe pilings. They are all of an equal height, but ſink down unequally according to the different ſorts of ground. Before the caiſſons are laid, the piles are made regular, by cutting them at an equal height by means of a ſaw formed with great ingenuity, and with which they can work under water with equal ſpeed and exactneſs.

I ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, that no wood but fir was made uſe of, either in the pilings, or the caiſſons. I was informed that what determined the architect, was, the good condition of ſome very old planks of this wood, which were found in the bed of the Thames, and proved more durable than oak.

The architect of this magnificent bridge is a Scotchman, named Robert Milne.

By means of theſe ſtructures, in which England and France ſeem to vie with each other, and which experience every day improves and brings to perfection, the eighteenth century will, in the annals of art, be the age of bridges *, which will figure as the only monuments that the preſent architects have had an opportunity of raiſing.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are, at this day, memorable for the monuments which they have left us in France and England,

* It will be likewiſe that of grand plans, and the fine varnith: in this reſpect we ſurpaſs the Delormes, the Jones's, the Debroſſes, and the Wrens. 'Pingitur Achivis doctius unctis.'

ſuch

ſuch as cathedral churches and other edifices of equal importance; edifices which if they do not diſplay a very correct taſte *, at leaſt diſcover grand ideas, both in the prelates who planned them, and in the artiſts who had the boldneſs to carry their deſigns into execution.

This public magnificence † was congenial to the taſte of thoſe ages which we call barbarous. It conſtituted their luxury, and extended even to private perſons. A canon or a father of a family, contributed at that time towards the building of a church, and adorned a chapel belonging to his chapter or pariſh, as we now ſet our houſes in order, or adorn our apartments. I have ſeen in France, at a country church, a great glaſs-work painted all over with hiſtorical figures at the expence of a huſbandman, who is repreſented in the firſt pannel at the head of ſix boys of different ages: the pannel oppoſite to it contains his wife at the head of ſeven daughters. In this repreſentation they offer to God that numerous family, as a favour and gift of his goodneſs.

* Moliere, in his poem upon Val-de-Grace, inveighs with a truly poetical ſpirit againſt Gothic plans.

' Ces monſtres odieux des ſiecle ignorans,
' Que de la barbarie ont produit les torrens,
' Quand leur cours, inondant preſque toute le
' terre,
' Fit à tous les beaux arts une mortelle guerre.

" Thoſe odious monſters of ignorant ages, which " the torrents of barbariſm have produced, when " their courſe overflowing almoſt the whole earth, " waged a cruel war with the elegant arts."

† ' Publica magnificentia' in the language of the antients, who oppoſed it to ' privatæ luxuriæ.'

The

The principle of this ſpecies of luxury was a regard to poſterity, and a deſire of leaving behind them ſome veſtiges of their having been upon earth: theſe good folks had ſome conſideration of what was to happen after them; views unknown to thoſe ages of diſſipation, in which mankind are divided between vanity, the wants which it gives riſe to, and the indelicate avidity of ſupplying theſe wants. In theſe ages which leave no traces after them, men of family, but void of ſentiment, principle, conſiſtency *, or character, are nothing more upon the ſurface of the earth, than what the froth, formed by the colliſion of the waves, is upon that of the ocean †.

I ſhall add to what I have ſaid above concerning the effects which a regard to poſterity is capable

* This is plainly expreſſed by Cicero, in that paſſage of his Offices: 'Negligere quid de ſe homines (vel præſentes vel poſteri) ſentiant, diſſoluti eſt animi.' "To be careleſs about what men, "whether our contemporaries or poſterity, ſhall "think of us is a diſſolute turn;" taking the word 'diſſolutus' in its proper ſenſe of diſordered, diſcompoſed.

† 'Pecuniæ cupiditas hæc tropicè inſtituit,' ſaid an author of the firſt age of the Roman empire: 'Priſcis temporibus, cùm nuda virtus adhuc placeret, vigebant artes, ſummumque inter homines certamen erat ne quid profuturum ſæculis negligeretur.' "The greedineſs of gain was the "cauſe of this in ancient days, when naked virtue "was ſtill agreeable, arts flouriſhed, and the "grand contention amongſt men was, that nothing "which could prove ſerviceable to mankind ſhould "be neglected.

pable

pable of producing, that it is what in all ages has ſupported great artiſts in the midſt of the perſecutions, enmities, and troubles, with which the jealouſy of their contemporaries embitrered their lives, and which ſhortening the days of many, have ſuffered few of them to have any real enjoyment till after their deaths:

'Tum demum vitam, cum moriuntur, agunt.'

Learning is likewiſe indebted to it for thoſe perſonages, who, in a profeſſion purely mechanical, as ſoon as it ceaſes to direct and enlighten it *, have merited a diſtinguiſhed place amongſt the benefactors of literature, of the ſciences, and of human kind: I mean the Manutii, the Frobens, the Stephens's, the Elzivirs, &c.

A prejudice very generally received gives to the Engliſh the honour of building moſt of the great Gothic edifices ſtill to be ſeen at Rouen, at Amiens, at Beauvais, at Rheims, at Troyes, at Auxerre, &c. But the architects who ſuperintended theſe edifices are ſtill recorded for the moſt part in the hiſtory of arts †: they were all natives of France, from whence we may infer that thoſe whoſe names have not reached us, were of the ſame nation.

True, it is, that during the troubles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Engliſh

* To this profeſſion, when left to itſelf, may be applied in a literal ſenſe the celebrated paſſage of Horace, 'ſimul hæc animos ærugo & cura peculi imbuerit, &c. by ſubſtituting in this paſſage 'verſus' in the room of 'carmina.'

† See Felibian's Hiſtory of Architecture.

extended

extended their dominion to ſome of the towns which I have juſt mentioned; but before theſe ſad revolutions happened, the plans of the edifices in queſtion were agreed upon and carried into execution for the moſt part. Add to this, that the Engliſh were but a ſhort time in poſſeſſion of theſe towns: and ſo far were the conquerors from employing their time in embelliſhing them, it appears evidently from ſeveral monuments, that all the labour beſtowed upon theſe buildings remained ſuſpended, whilſt the Engliſh kept poſſeſſion of thoſe places.

The names of certain families, ſtill remaining in theſe towns, are monuments leſs equivocal of the Engliſh conqueſts. One of them, which lies in the centre of France, and which, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, ſerved as a theatre to the grandeſt ſcene England ever acted in this kingdom, can boaſt of families of Engliſh extraction, either lately extinct or which ſtill ſubſiſt, ſuch as the De Greys, Allens, Bartons, Gibſons, Maſſeys, Groſleys, Waltons, Hudſons, &c. whoſe names are very common in England *.

Bourdeaux,

* That city has in return given the Britiſh dominions an illuſtrious perſonage, to whom they are indebted for the firſt prizes which have been there diſtributed for the encouragement of agriculture and arts. His name was Madain: being thrown upon the coaſt of Ireland, by events of which I could never hear any ſatisfactory account, he ſettled in Dublin by the name of Madden, there made a fortune, dedicated part of his eſtate, which amounted to four or five thouſand pounds a year, to the prizes which I have ſpoken of, and left a rich ſucceſſion: part of this ſucceſſion went over to France to the Madains his

Bourdeaux, and the other towns of Guienne, are where the Engliſh were ſettled for a conſtancy, have many edifices which they owe to Engliſh prelates, whoſe names they have retained *; but we do not know whether they employed ſuch architects as they had upon the ſpot, or had recourſe to Engliſh artiſts through national jealouſy. This doubt even reaches to contemporary edifices erected in England: it may be the rather decided in favour of France, ſince in the taſte for theſe buildings England has only followed France at a diſtance, as it at preſent imitates that kingdom in faſhions. Beſides the particular records of England have, doubtleſs, preſerved the names of the architects who ſuperintended the buildings of moſt importance; their ſirnames formed, according to the cuſtom of thoſe ages, from the names of the places where they were born, muſt put us out of all doubt with regard to the point in queſtion.

The immediate correſpondence eſtabliſhed between England and Italy by the cuſtom of travelling on account of health, curioſity, &c. have enriched the former with ſeveral fine edifices, copied from the great variety of Italian models. But it is at ſome diſtance from London that theſe noble pieces of architecture are to be found.

his relations, who commenced a law-ſuit for the recovery of it, and cauſed eccleſiaſtical cenſures to be publiſhed againſt a merchant, to whom they had ſent a letter of attorney to act for them, and whom they accuſed of having appropriated to himſelf a ſhare of their inheritance.

* The chief of theſe are the towers of St. Michael and Piberland, at Bourdeaux.

With

With regard to thoſe which I myſelf have ſeen I ſhall mention. 1. The magnificent palace of lord Tilney, to the eaſt of London; the model of which was taken from one of the fine houſes built by Palladio in the plains of Padua and upon the borders of the Brenta. It has two ſtories in the Italian taſte, that is to ſay, very lofty. There are twenty windows in each front, the ornaments of which are equally noble and regular. The principal front is diſtinguiſhed by a projecting periſtile which ſtands upon pillars, and forms a balcony to the firſt ſtory. On the ſides are ten windows with larger diſtances than thoſe in front.

A park of a conſiderable extent, whoſe centre it occupies, is bounded by a pond, from which riſes a large grotto, where the ſpectator beholds a moſt precious cabinet of natural hiſtory. What I would be underſtood to mean is, that the partitions and the vault of this grotto are accurately incruſted with whatever the earth and the ſeas exhibit moſt rare and valuable in ſhells, corals, petrifications, metals, and even precious ſtones: the whole diſtributed with as much taſte as diſcernment.

2. The houſe built by the late Mr. Pelham, in the county of Surrey. This houſe has a row of marble pillars, the magnificence of which may be compared to whatever is diſplayed in this way by the firſt royal palaces in Europe. When I viſited this houſe, the heirs of Mr. Pelham were treating about it with the governor of Bengal, who was ſaid to have made an immenſe fortune in the laſt war.

3. The palace built at Chiſwick by lord Burlington, who had given the plan himſelf, and directed the building in the taſte of Palladio, and,

and, perhaps, in imitation of ſome of his grand edifices, which his lordſhip might have thought it ſufficient to copy. The copy did not ſucceed chiefly on account of the climate of England: all the apartments have the air of ſubterraneous vaults. The principal front has a hexaſtile portico, all the parts of which are of as exquiſite workmanſhip, as that of the moſt ſkilful jeweller or goldſmith. In the diſpoſition of this portico and its colonades, the moſt noble architect muſt, doubtleſs, have been guilty of ſome miſtake, which he was not able to repair otherwiſe than by cauſing the moſt projecting parts of the chapitrels to be altered at the point of their contact with the body of the building.

Thus with more or leſs taſte every Engliſhman who builds, would ſ. in be his own architect: this fancy, which is utterly repugnant to the progreſs of the art, ſeems to make a branch of the national liberty; from whence ariſe the moſt odd and whimſical incongruities even in buildings that have occaſioned the greateſt expence.

To theſe incongruities London is indebted for the chief ornaments of its ſtreets. In fact nothing can be more inconſiſtent than the choice and the placing of the ornaments, with which the ſign-poſts and the outſides of the ſhops of citizens are loaded. They are, for the moſt part, pieces of Doric architecture executed according to the moſt rigorous exactneſs. At the mercers ſhops the columns are covered with rich ſtuffs, which are continually ſplaſhed from top to bottom with the dirt of the ſtreet.

From what has been ſaid concerning the ſtate of the arts in England, it ſhould ſeem to reſult that the Engliſh have no taſte of their own. But what

what nation in Europe ever had a taſte of its own? The love of change and novelty throws our taſtes into a fluctuation and uncertainty, and into thoſe inconſiſtencies which torment a child in the midſt of its play-things and babies *. Each nation thus tormented, often ridiculous in the eyes of its neighbours, periodically ſo even in its own eyes, is neither leſs happy, nor content, nor leſs filled with an excluſive admiration for its own productions and fancies †.

The fixed and invariable taſtes are eſtabliſhed

'Ultra Sauromatas:'

That is to ſay, in the moſt remote parts of Aſia, in thoſe countries, whoſe inhabitants, not ſo much through choice as indolence, dreſs, build, furniſh their houſes, ſing, paint and write in the ſame manner at preſent as they did 3000 years ago.

Beſides, the Engliſh genius has nothing of that flexibility required by the arts from their profeſſors, and which ſeem to be baniſhed by logic, metaphyſics, and the abſtruſe ſciences.

ELOQUENCE.

The antiquity of eloquence in England is uſually proved by a line of Juvenal repeated a thouſand times in honour of France:

Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

* Sub nutrice puella velut ſi luderet infans,
Quod petiit ſpernit, repetit quod nuper omiſit,
Æſtuat & vitæ diſconvenit ordine toto.

† Seque et ſua ſola miratur.

but

but it happens unluckily that in the ſenſe of the author, this line like many other paſſages cited from the ancients, and which are quite perverted as ſoon as they are ſeparated from the text, preſents in Juvenal nothing more than an ironical panegyric upon the efforts made by a people in a ſtate of barbariſm to vie with the Ciceros and Plinys in a language which they were ſcarce able to pronounce *. The true ſenſe of this line is aſcertained by that which immediately follows:

De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule †.

Let us confine ourſelves to the preſent ſtate of eloquence in England.

* To intimate the extent of uſeful knowledge in the New World, in an Engliſh pamphlet it is ſaid: "there lately arrived in London a deputation from "the country of the Hurons, to ſollicit the miniſtry "for the eſtabliſhment of an academy of agriculture, "and of a military ſchool at Maſſalimakinack."

† As by that other line,

'Lugdunenſem Rhetor dicturus ad aram,

of the ſame Satiriſt. The penalties ordained by Caligula againſt the Gauliſh pedants who preſumed to appear at the altar at Lyons, were a piece of humour in that frantic emperor; but a piece of humour founded upon the prejudice of the Romans againſt the genius and taſte of the Gauls, Britons, and other Barbarians, lately ſubject to the empire. The haughty Romans had the ſame opinion of all theſe barbarians, as Cicero had of the Gauls, in compariſon of the Romans: 'Si homines ipſos ſpectare convenit, 'ſaid that orator, non modò cum ſummis civitatis 'noſtræ viris, ſed cum infimo cive Romano quiſquam 'ampliſſi-

I have already ſpoken of theatrical declamation, and of the effect which it produced upon me; an effect the more remarkable as I was barely a ſpectator. The pulpit declamation is a moſt tedious monotony. The miniſters have choſen it through reſpect for religion, which, as they affirm, proves, defends, and ſupports itſelf without having any occaſion for the aſſiſtance of oratory. With regard to the truth of this aſſertion I appeal to themſelves, and to the progreſs which religion thus inculcated makes in England. They would, doubtleſs, think otherwiſe, if they were acquainted with the reflections equally ſolid and brilliant of Monſ. Arnauld upon eloquence, or if it were put into their hands at the univerſities.

The ancient Norman cuſtoms or laws confined the eloquence of the bar within the nar-

ampliſſimus Galliæ comparandus eſt *. "If it was "proper to conſider the men themſelves, the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed of the Gauls, is not to "be compared to the great men of our city, nor "even to be compared to the meaneſt citizen of "Rome." Theſe ſame Gauls having been afterwards admitted into the Roman ſenate, both by Julius Cæſar and Claudius, the public ſaw them ſeated there with an aſtoniſhment mixed with indignation, which has been taken notice of in hiſtory; 'Galli 'braccis depoſuerunt, latum clavum ſumpſerunt, Barbaries in curiam effuſa eſt,' "The Gauls have "laid aſide their breeches, and aſſumed the Roman "robe, the Barbarians have ruſhed into the ſenate-"houſe." The Gauls and Britain have ſince had flouriſhing ſchools both of poets and orators; but above all in the country on this ſide of the Loire; the productions of theſe ſchools, and of theſe orators always juſtified the old prepoſſeſſion of the Romans.

* Pro Fonteio.

roweſt

roweſt bounds, that is to ſay, to what is abſolutely eſſential to the cauſe. A pleader might be diſavowed by his client as long as he had not anſwered for him, and he did not anſwer for him till he heard him; for a prudent man, ſays an old doctor of the Norman law, ſhould not anſwer for things that are to be ſaid, but for thoſe which have been ſaid *. By this law, pleaders are called 'conteurs' or relaters.

The declamation of the preſent bar does not appear to be fixed. The pleadings upon which all cauſes are decided in courts of judicature, either inferior or ſuperior, have the advantage of being exceeding ſhort: they have no other object but the matter of fact, concerning which the plaintiff and defendant differ; or the point of law which may lead to a deciſion: and in both caſes it is not ſo much a continued diſcuſſion, as a long dialogue between the counſellors, which bears a ſtrong reſemblance to a univerſity diſpute. This dialogue requires leſs eloquence than ſubtilty; but it rouſes the attention both of the judges and the auditors. I have ſeen a ſerjeant at law plead in this manner, who paſſed for one of the ableſt lawyers in London. His queſtions and replies had all the vivacity of a clear-headed reaſoner who is a complete maſter of his ſubject; and he ſpoke with that chearfulneſs which always accompanies thoſe who are ſure of victory. All the auditors and the judges themſelves ſhared it; they laughed in chorus; a much ſurer ſymptom of attention than ſleep.

I have ſeen in the court of chancery, a young counſel pleading, whom his father's reputation

* See the great collection of Norman cuſtoms.

and his own merit had already raiſed to conſiderable preferments. His reclined head, his affected tone, and ſtudied geſtures were peculiar to himſelf: I never obſerved the like in any other Engliſhman who ſpoke in public.

It is in parliament that real eloquence is diſplayed. There the moſt important intereſts are diſcuſſed by orators uſed to ſpeaking, and animated by the love of their country, or at leaſt by the ſpirit of party. I have had the pleaſure of being preſent at ſeveral meetings of both houſes, and though I did not underſtand, I at leaſt ſaw the warm debates in which they were engaged.

I have three times heard the king deliver his ſpeech in the houſe of lords; his voice was ſonorous, flexible, and pathetic; in ſhort, he ſeemed to give the Engliſh language a cadence and a harmony quite new to my ear. At the firſt ſeſſion of parliament at which this prince made his appearance, the Engliſh, who had been for two generations accuſtomed to hear their language diſguiſed in the mouth of their ſovereign by a foreign accent, ſhed tears of joy upon hearing it pronounced with all its graces by a monarch, who, ſtiling himſelf a Briton, ſeemed to promiſe them every ſentiment of patriotic tenderneſs and affection. The Engliſh language is no leſs harmonious and agreeable in the mouth of lord Mansfield, lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench. The monarch ſpeaks to the ſoul, the lord chief juſtice to the underſtanding: whatever the latter utters, bears the ſtamp of that graceful dignity and penetration, which are diſplayed in his air, and indeed in his whole countenance.

The

The Engliſh language, as generally ſpoken, ſeems to conſiſt entirely of monoſyllables. Of whatever length a word may be, the firſt ſyllable is pronounced with emphaſis; and the reſt being half ſuppreſſed dies away with the teeth *: 'tis a continued repetition of the ſame ſound as rough as it is diſagreeable to the ear. Upon the ſtage, on the contrary, it appeared to me that the performers laid an emphaſis upon all the ſyllables, which they pronounced with a languiſhing, drawling monotony.

At the upper houſe I have heard lords Lyttleton, Temple, Pomfret, and the old duke of Newcaſtle ſpeak: the latter delivered himſelf, as he was leaning on two young lords, who ſat before him upon the ſecond bench. The noblemen whom I have juſt named were then at the head of the oppoſition: they were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the patriotic lords, and their ſpeeches were animated with all the warmth which ſo noble a cauſe was calculated to inſpire. There muſt, however, have been great humour in theſe ſpeeches, for they occaſioned frequent

* With reſpect to many words, this pronunciation has affected the orthography: 'chirurgien,' derived from the Greek as well in the Engliſh as in French, is written as it is pronounced, Surgeon: this is not the 'parcè detecta' of Horace. Thus the Gaſçon pronounces 'ſurgien, mouſter, capten, captal, for chi-'rurgien, mouſquetaire, capitaine, capital.' The baron de Feneſte, generally ſpeaking, writes in this dialect; he produces a multitude of examples of its tendency to the abbreviation of words; a tendency, which it no doubt contracted in the commerce of the Gaſçons with the Engliſh, who were, during many centuries, in poſſeſſion of Guienne.

and loud laughs. In the midſt of a warm debate the lord chancellor roſe, made a long and vehement harangue, and terminated his diſcourſe by a ſtroke which ſet the whole houſe a laughing. All preſent being entirely taken up with what was ſaid, and with the anſwers immediately made, nobody could explain to me the ſtrokes which occaſioned ſo much mirth: when the houſe roſe, I was told that they were witty repartees, to be catched as they fell, and whoſe merit was inſtantaneous. I was, however, given to underſtand, that when I ſaw only part of the houſe laugh, it was at ſome irony or ſarcaſm thrown out againſt the oppoſite party by the lord who ſpoke.

Who would not, upon ſeeing the greateſt perſonages of England treating the moſt important ſtate affairs in this manner, who would not, I ſay, be tempted to look upon the Engliſh as the gayeſt, moſt jovial, and the moſt addicted to buffoonery of all nations?

Dr. Brown, in his Eſtimate of the Manners of the Engliſh, vol. i. p. 76, mentions this miſplaced gaiety amongſt the proofs of want of national capacity. "In a nation thus circumſtanced, it is odds, ſays he, but you would ſee ſome of its moſt public and ſolemn aſſemblies turned into ſcenes of unmanly riot; inſtead of the dignity of freedom, the tumults of licentiouſneſs would prevail. Forwardneſs of young men, without experience, intemperate ridicule, diſſolute mirth, and loud peals of laughter, would be the ruling character of ſuch an aſſembly."

In England, as in other countries, thoſe who are moſt celebrated for their elegant writings are often

often the worſt orators: ſuch was in France the duke de la Rochefoucault, ſo well known for his moral reflections. Huetius informs us, in his Memoirs, that this nobleman reſiſted the moſt urgent intreaties of the court to accept of a place in the French academy, on account of his inability to ſpeak in public *.

I was deprived of the two greateſt pleaſures that London could procure me: that of ſeeing the celebrated Garrick act upon the ſtage, and the illuſtrious Mr. Pitt harangue in the houſe of commons. The nation, at that time, ſeemed to be in a dangerous ſituation, and Mr. Pitt was looked upon as the only perſon capable of ſaving it; yet he did not make his appearance, but was conſtantly deaf to the general voice which called upon him to engage in public affairs.

His place as an orator was ſupplied by Mr. Beckford, who was oppoſed by Mr. George Grenville; theſe two gentlemen, ſeconded by ſpeakers of inferior abilities, headed in the houſe of commons the two parties which divided the nation; and there was equal laughing in both houſes. I could obſerve nothing remarkable

* 'Tam molli erat animo & ad verba publicè fa-'cienda, cætumque alloquendum remiſſo, tamque 'aurim oratione deliniendarum & demulcendarum in-'felici, ut, ſi ſex ſeptemve homines ad ſe audiendum 'vidiſſit coiiſſe, animæ defectionem eſſet ſenſurus.' Huet. Comm. de Rebus ſuis. L. v. p. 317. "He "was ſo timorous and backward with regard to "ſpeaking in public, and addreſſing an aſſembly, and "ſo unhappily defective in the art of ſoothing and "pleaſing the ear by eloquence, that if he had ſeen "ſix or ſeven perſons aſſembled together to hear him, "he would have fainted away.

in

in the action of theſe orators. They ſtood up uncovered, and addreſſed themſelves to the ſpeaker, with their legs ſtraddling, one knee ſomewhat bent, and one arm extended, as if they were going to fence; they harangued a long time, but ſcarce any body gave attention to what they ſaid, except juſt at the moment when the members of their party cried out in chorus, Aye, aye.

I have ſpoken, at the article of public diverſions, of the theatrical declamation, and the effect which it had upon me. When we conſider the diſtinctions and advantages which the gift of ſpeaking is capable of producing in England, we might be tempted to imagine that London has ſchools of oratory, reſembling thoſe which were opened by Greece in that brilliant period, when the ſeveral republics yielded to no other power but that of eloquence. Vain illuſion! In this reſpect the Engliſh, entirely confined to the beaten track of colleges, are indebted to nature, alone for orators *; and being content with attaining Horace's wiſh †, they are not expoſed to the apprehenſions, which a French author expreſſed concerning the fate of our elocution ‡.

in

* 'Naſcunter oratores,' Such was the eloquence of the orators who made ſo brilliant a figure during the firſt periods of Roman eloquence. Cato the elder, comparing theſe orators to thoſe of antient Greece, ſaid: ſpeech came only from the lips of the Greeks, while it iſſued from the hearts of the Romans. 'Plutarch, Life of Cato.

† 'Quid voveat dulci nutricula majus alumno
'Quùm ſapere & fari ut poſſit quæ ſentiat.'

‡ 'Nunc inter Gallos viget eloquentia & publico
'ſulta ſuffragio, ſæculum aliud tremens expectat.'

Sæ-

in a Latin treatiſe publiſhed about the year 1680.

Mr. Hume has dedicated the 17th of his Moral and Political Eſſays to an examination of the cauſes which, as he himſelf acknowledges, have retarded the birth of eloquence in England, and of the means which may cheriſh and ſupport it, ſhould it ever happen to ſpring up in that kingdom. Amongſt theſe cauſes, or the obſtacles which oppoſe its birth, he places in the firſt claſs the temper, the character, and the ſuperior good ſenſe of the nation, as little diſpoſed to deceive and miſlead others by illuſions, as to give into them itſelf. To remove this obſtruction, he lays it down as a maxim in the ſubſequent Eſſays upon the Origin and Progreſs of the Arts and Sciences, and upon the Character of Nations, that this progreſs and this character being connected only with cauſes purely moral, are independent on the influence of climate; that in all climates, and under all the various aſpects of the ſun, 'omnis fert omnia tellus;' and that thus the Engliſh will become orators and artiſts, &c. as ſoon as they chuſe to be ſo.

But the effect of eloquence upon minds being exactly the ſame with that of electricity upon bodies, and ſome bodies being conſtantly non electrical; if the caſe were the ſame in this reſpect with minds as with bodies, we might, according to Mr. Hume, place the Engliſh amongſt the non-electrical minds, and of conſequence in

Sæculi Genius, p. 20. Eloquence now flouriſhes amongſt the Gauls, and being ſupported by the public teſtimony, waits trembling for the deciſion of another age.

the

the number of thoſe which are unſuſceptible of the effects of eloquence, on account of their character, their nature, their temper, and ſuperior good ſenſe. An author of the 12th century, ſtruck with that ſpecific character which diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh from all other nations, and above all from their neareſt neighbours the French, accounted for it by their natural temper, and the extreme humidity of the brain in Engliſhmen *.

* Petri Cellenſis Epiſt. 23. lib. vi. See likewiſe Sir William Temple's Miſcellanies.

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